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'Pathway to growth' begins in Casablanca

King Hassan opens economic summit

JOSE ROSENFELD and agencies
CASABLANCA

MORE than 2,500 political and business leaders opened the Middle East/North Africa Economic Conference yesterday evening, with Morocco's King Hassan II calling the gathering a way to bolster the peace process.

"Peace is in our hands," the monarch said in his opening speech. "Our conference is precisely aimed at consolidating it and giving it the means to make it more durable."

During the three-day summit, Israel and its Arab neighbors are to discuss how to develop their economy totaling 300 million consumers.

US Secretary of State Warren Christopher said the meeting was the economic equivalent of the breakthrough Madrid peace conference exactly three years ago.

"Madrid opened the pathway to peace," he told the opening of the conference in Casablanca's Moorish Royal Palace. "Here, this week, let us declare that the Casablanca conference will open the pathway to economic ties and growth."

He also urged an end to the Arab boycott of Israel. US officials hope the conference will lock Israel and Arab states together economically and make the peace process irreversible.

Rabin, addressing the conference, appealed to the international community for funds, saying Israel's agreements with the PLO, Jordan and Egypt were the foundations, walls and roof of a building.

"The Casablanca meeting has to create the conditions, environment, the means to fill this empty house of peace with content," he said.

In a particularly militant speech, Arafat based the future economic development of the Palestinians on eliminating the "occupation" and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with eastern Jerusalem as its capital.

Arafat, in his opening address, told Rabin: "The continuation of the accelerated and accurate implementation of the peace agreement is the real solution and the sole method for confronting extremism and the enemies of peace from all sides."

Rabin made a special point to note after Arafat's speech that Jerusalem was not up for negotiations. "Jerusalem will remain the united and undivided capital under Israeli sovereignty," he said. Rabin, complementing his host King Hassan of Morocco, said that in learning from the King's example of tolerance and respect to Morocco's Jews, Israel will follow the same policies towards other religions.

Finance Minister Avraham Shohat said before the opening of the conference that everyone has agreed that the Casablanca declaration to be issued at the close of the three-day event will include the goal of establishing a regional development bank. However, he cautioned that the specific conditions to insure that the bank will meet the area's needs have yet to be worked out. A committee will be established to draw the appropriate criteria for the bank. According to Rabin, it will take at least two years until the bank is established.

Shohat said that many questions remain. For example: Which countries are to be included in the region? Will funds be provided for national projects or only for regional projects? And should the funds be provided at concessional rates or at market rates? These and many more questions will occupy the members of the committee, which will be established shortly after the conference.

Asked whether he was happy with the idea of the regional bank, Shohat replied, "I am thrilled only under specific conditions." He hinted that the Europeans share his guarded endorsement, saying that "everyone is thrilled to look into the idea."



The three Nobel Peace Prize winners, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, sit together in Casablanca yesterday at the start of the Middle East Economic Summit. (AP)

Finance Minister Avraham Shohat tells 'Post': US loan guarantees becoming too expensive

JOSE ROSENFELD
CASABLANCA

US long-term interest rates are coming close to the limit beyond which it will not be worthwhile to raise funds by means of the US loan guarantees, Finance Minister Avraham Shohat told the *Jerusalem Post* yesterday in an exclusive interview.

Shohat said that Israel is getting close to the point where it will not be worthwhile to draft US loan guarantees. He noted that when one adds the US government's scoring costs (the amount of insurance in case Israel defaults) and the underwriting costs to the high interest

rates, the loans are getting to be very expensive.

Budget Director David Brodet said that when interest rates on 30-year US Treasury Bonds reach between 9 and 10%, US loan guarantee financing may become too expensive. The present rate is around 8 percent.

Brodet based his comments on past experiences which showed that at 9%, long-term rates were becoming uneconomical.

Brodet said that earlier, the cost of the US loan guarantee funds was relatively moderate, but that now long-term interest rates around the world are on the rise.

Should long-term interest rates become expensive, Israel will perhaps have to consider not raising the full \$10 billion in guarantees and maybe turn to shorter-term borrowing at lower rates, said Brodet.

Mordechai slams Givati unit's conduct during Saturday's Hizbullah assault

DAVID RUDGE

OC Northern Command Maj. Gen. Yitzhak Mordechai yesterday sharply criticized the conduct of Givati Brigade soldiers during Saturday's assault by Hizbullah gunmen on their position in the security zone, as heavy fighting in the region continued.

Disciplinary measures are likely to be taken against those responsible for allowing the Hizbullah gunmen to approach undetected within 100 meters of the post and blow up a defense position.

Two Givati soldiers were lightly wounded during the Hizbullah assault, which was repulsed. About an hour later, the position came under long-range mortar fire, killing Staff Sgt. Amnog Klein, 20, who was buried yesterday.

A senior Northern Command officer said calling the soldiers' conduct during the incident "unprofessional" was an understatement.

He said a de-briefing of the troops involved, which lasted for over two hours, had revealed that soldiers had not been in their appointed posts at the time.

They had failed to spot the approaching terrorists, had not hit them and had not charged them after they had been identified.

The senior officer was quoted as saying that after spotting the terrorists, the troops had not shown any determination to make contact with the enemy. Had they demonstrated the necessary courage and determination, the results of the encounter would have been totally different, the officer said.

The officer noted that there were more than enough troops in the position to deal with the terrorists and they had tanks and mortars at their disposal.

The officer said that during the course of the de-briefing, Mordechai criticized the conduct of the soldiers and the post commander.

Hizbullah screened a video film of the assault showing its fighters approaching the position under cover of mortar and machine gun fire and planting the organization's flag on an outer defensive post which was later blown up.

Heavy fighting continued in the security zone yesterday with Hizbullah attacking both IDF and South Lebanese Army targets in the western and eastern sectors, as well as the Jezzine enclave region north of the zone.

Two SLA soldiers were lightly wounded when a roadside bomb was detonated alongside their patrol near Rashaf village, in the western sector. One of the wounded was taken to the nearby Bint J'bail hospital for treatment and the other to Marjayoun hospital.

IDF and SLA gunners blasted suspected terrorist targets north of the zone in response to the attack.

In another incident, Hizbullah attacked SLA troops in the Jezzine region and opened fire at a nearby position. There were no casualties among the SLA troops who returned fire.

Later, in the afternoon, the IDF positions attacked by Hizbullah on Saturday again came under long-range mortar fire, but there were no casualties.

Duke of Edinburgh to accept Yad Vashem honor

BATSHEVA TSUR

PRINCE Philip, the first member of the British royal family to visit Israel since the establishment of the state, will receive the honor of Righteous Amongst the Nations today on behalf of his mother, Princess Alice, who saved a Jewish family in Athens during the Holocaust.

At this morning's ceremony at Yad Vashem, the prince is expected to speak out for the first time on his mother's humanitarian role.

The RAF plane carrying the Duke of Edinburgh touched down at Ben-Gurion Airport at midday yesterday. Because it is a private visit, there was no official ceremony, but the prince was welcomed by Education Minister Amnon Rubinstein who quipped: "We haven't seen so many Union Jacks in this part of the world since 1948."

First stop on the prince's itinerary was the Ramat Gan residence of British Ambassador Andrew Burns, who hosted a private reception for those involved in British-Israeli relations. Philip's older sister Sophie, who had arrived Saturday night, was also there. During the reception, the prince awarded seven gold medals to needy Jewish and Israeli Arab children, according to Buckingham Palace spokesman Penny Russell-Smith.

At mid-afternoon, the prince arrived at the Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery, a well-tended oasis of green in Ramle's drab industrial zone. The cemetery, which dates back to World War I, contains 7,000 graves, including those of a few Jewish and Moslem servicemen.



Britain's Prince Philip lays a wreath yesterday at the Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery in Ramle. (Hanoeh Grizisky / Israel Sun)

After laying a wreath at the giant cross that dominates the cemetery, the prince spoke to the veterans, asking them about their service and examining the Hebrew writing on the flag of the Jewish Brigade.

For at least one veteran, it was one of the most exciting days of his life.

formed an impromptu guard of honor, came smartly to attention as Canon Reverend John Parkinson recited a prayer.

After laying a wreath at the giant cross that dominates the cemetery, the prince spoke to the veterans, asking them about their service and examining the Hebrew writing on the flag of the Jewish Brigade.

For at least one veteran, it was one of the most exciting days of his life.

Rabin tells Arafat closure to be lifted in stages from tomorrow

JOSE ROSENFELD
CASABLANCA

THE closure of the territories will be gradually lifted starting tomorrow, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin announced here yesterday after a meeting with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat.

However, Rabin promised to do "whatever needed" to contain attacks by Hamas.

Rabin who came to Casablanca for the Middle East/North Africa Economic Conference, met with Arafat together with Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Palestinian Authority Economics Minister Ahmed Kreia (Abu Ala).

Rabin said only urgent matters were discussed at the meeting. More complex issues like security will be discussed at the Erez checkpoint next Monday, he said.

"I informed Chairman Arafat that starting Tuesday, two days from today, we gradually will lift the closure," Rabin told reporters after he and Peres met with Arafat at a villa here.

Despite the decision to lift the closure, Rabin said he made it clear to Arafat that Israel feels free to take whatever measures necessary to prevent terrorist attacks within its borders.

"The issue of closure was brought up and I said very clearly, as long as Hamas and the Islamic Jihad continue their terror activities - the kind that they carried out in Jerusalem, in kidnapping the soldier Nahshon Wachman, the terrible atrocity, [the] crime that they carried out in a suicidal mission on the bus in Tel Aviv - we will feel free to do whatever is needed to protect the lives of Israelis," Rabin said.

Rabin pledged "to fight this terror of Hamas and the Islamic Jihad, because they are the enemies of Israel and the enemies of peace, and the enemies of Palestinians who want peace."

Rabin also said that the sides had agreed that Palestinian officers will be allowed to take up positions at two border crossings, the Allenby Bridge between Jordan and Judea, and the Rafiah crossing between Egypt and the Gaza Strip. Palestinian officers are expected to take up their positions there today.

Rabin said there is a need to find a way to limit entry to Israel to workers with permits. In the past 18 months, there have been no attacks by such individuals, he said.

Arafat and Peres met again in the afternoon to discuss the lifting of the closure. Arafat reportedly told Peres he was disappointed by the fact that the closure would be lifted gradually.

Yasser Abed Rabbo, Arafat's minister of culture and information, said the closure should be lifted immediately and completely. "because collective punishment is not a policy that will be helpful for creating an atmosphere of trust between the two nations."

He said he didn't understand Israel's decision to seal off the Palestinians from their livelihoods. "We don't think there is a reason for that in spite of the incidents that have occurred," he said. "We can cooperate, but not to punish a whole people and to punish tens of thousands of workers who have nothing to do with such incidents."

Asked whether the PLO would strengthen its efforts to control Hamas, Abed Rabbo said, "I'm not talking about stopping or not stopping. We are doing our best on the security level in accordance with the law and our obligations."

"We hope the other side will respect the obligations concerning the interim agreement, the elections, the transfer of authority and the extension of Palestinian authority to the West Bank," he added.

Rabin said that the early empowerment agreement in Judea and Samaria, which would give the Palestinians authority over health, tourism, welfare and taxes, is awaiting the donor countries' financial commitment before it can be signed.

Later in the day, Arafat, Peres, Finance Minister Avraham Shohat, Kreia and European Union President Jacques Delors met to discuss the Palestinians' pressing economic problems.

(Continued on Page 2)

Ramon 'very pessimistic' about future of Clalit

JUDY SIEGEL

HISTADRUT Chairman MK Haim Ramon was last night "very pessimistic" about the future of Kupat Holim Clalit, after a fruitless meeting with union representatives who refused to bear their share of the health fund's recovery plan.

When the workers asked him when they would be paid their October salaries, Ramon responded that without implementation of the recovery program, Clalit would be doomed. He did not mention any alternatives, such as putting the health fund into receivership.

If the workers do not get their October salaries on schedule on November 5, the unions have threatened to strike immediately.

According to the recovery plan, approved by the cabinet last week, the government would grant the financially troubled health fund NIS 3 billion in state aid over the next few years. But as a condition, 1,000 employees would have to be dismissed, working hours lengthened and salaries reduced.

All the union representatives were willing to offer were wage reductions, in the form of interest-bearing loans to be repaid by Clalit in several years.

Ramon said he would merely be a "postman" - delivering their proposals to the government - but added it was very doubtful they would be accepted.

Ramon added that he had waited patiently for six weeks for a proposal from the workers on how the would participate in the recovery plan. "I still haven't received any, neither orally nor in writing."

"Are these doctors who earn NIS 15,000 a month unwilling to accept a three-percent wage cut over two years to ensure their place of work?" he asked. He noted that Clalit wages had increased by as much as 25 percent above the average national wage over the past few years.

The Histadrut chairman added that after January 1, when the National Health Insurance Law goes into effect, members will be able to choose another health fund if dissatisfied with Clalit.

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EPalestinian injured while trying to throw grenade

A PALESTINIAN who tried to throw a grenade at a military post near Beit Hadassah in downtown Hebron yesterday was wounded when it exploded in his hand, the IDF said.

Palestinian sources said that Mahmoud Shadid, 20, from Dura, was identified with Fatah, though it was not clear if he was acting alone or on orders.

It was the fifth reported attack in Hebron by an individual against soldiers in the past month. The others were all with knives.

Sources in Dura said that troops came to the small town near Hebron later and arrested two brothers of the wounded attacker. Youths burned tires and threw stones at soldiers who fired rubber bullets, wounding one youth slightly in the head.

Shadid was taken from Alya Hospital by troops immediately after an operation to save several of his fingers. An uncle, Raed, was also arrested outside the hospital.

JON IMMANUEL

after he arrived with wounds he could not account for, local sources said.

The attacker's family was well-known for its support for the peace process, according to Adam Keller of Gush Shalom.

Meanwhile, the Jerusalem weekly *Kol Ha'ir* reported Friday that a news agency videotape of a soldier shooting at Nidal Tamimi, who tried to knife a soldier last week, indicates he was shot on the ground after already being seriously wounded.

Local sources also said that Tamimi, brother of a Palestinian Authority official, identified himself with Fatah and not with Hamas as the IDF reported.

Yesterday Hamas warned Fatah not to heed Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's call to crack down on its activists, in a statement to the Jerusalem Arabic press.

"We call on the Palestinian Au-

thority not to respond to Rabin's continued demands if it really wants to be an authority which cares about its people's interests," it said.

Israeli security forces have arrested some 150 Hamas activists outside the Palestinian autonomous areas since the Tel Aviv bus bombing.

Yesterday Gaza police released some eight Hamas activists arrested after Sgt. Nahshon Wachsmann was kidnapped, leaving about 20 more in jail. Eight members of the Democratic Front were also released.

Some 3,000 students protested the Israel-Jordan treaty during a sit-in at the pro-PLO Al-Azhar University in Gaza yesterday. Protesters burned pictures of King Hussein.

Yesterday demonstrations erupted in Nablus for the third time since the treaty was signed, involving Hamas activists from out of town, military sources said.



Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and MK Rafi Edri visit with King Hassan II at the royal palace in Casablanca yesterday. (Reuters)

'The beginning of a beautiful friendship'

CASABLANCA (Reuters) - While the politicians made headlines, nearly 2,000 businessmen at the Middle East economic conference swapped cards and discussed the future of the region.

The purpose of the three-day conference opened yesterday by Morocco's King Hassan II is to give potential investors a chance to meet the political movers and shakers in the Middle East and North Africa.

And they have come in droves. Japanese, European and US businessmen have registered for the unprecedented event for a chance to meet officials and experts from more than 60 countries gathered in Morocco's financial hub.

"This conference could be the beginning of a beautiful friendship," US Secretary of State Warren Christopher said, quoting Humphrey Bogart's classic film line from "Casablanca" at the start of the conference.

The sight of George Vassiliou, former president of Cyprus, embracing Yasser Arafat in a hotel lobby encapsulated the mood of the conference.

"This meeting is unique in that such a big number of people representing the business

community of the world are meeting with political leaders," Vassiliou, who is closely associated with the conference organization, told Reuters.

"The political leaders are giving their blessing to the whole process and it opens the doors to everything else," he added.

US President Bill Clinton, who with Russian leader Boris Yeltsin is co-sponsor of the conference, said in a message to the meeting that he saw it as an important forum for discussing the region's economic prospects and promoting business and investment opportunities.

"It will also make a significant contribution to advancing the peace process," Clinton said.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, in Casablanca with Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and eight other cabinet ministers, wants to find new markets for Israeli goods after decades of isolation.

"Israel should not remain an island of prosperity in a sea of poverty," Peres told reporters after a series of meetings prior to the main conference at the royal palace in Casablanca.

"The Israelis are looking at markets to ex-

port their products and the Arabs are looking for investments," Vassiliou said.

"We see a lot of potential for privatization," said banker Max Burger-Calderon of the corporate finance group Apex Partners and Co. He said that in telecommunications, the fastest growing sector in the region, Morocco needed investments of \$2 billion in the next two years and Israel was looking for \$1 billion.

Christian Falkowski, who heads the European Unions technical division for the Mediterranean region, said the purpose of the conference was to educate businessmen in the language of today's politics.

"We are just starting to coordinate. The purpose of this meeting is to mobilize the business community and tell them what is happening on the political front," he told Reuters.

After the opening ceremony, the conference will break into working groups on a wide range of issues ranging from sharing water resources, energy, banking and finance and industry.

Asked what he expected from Casablanca, Rabin said: "We created an atmosphere of peace in the region and now we want to exploit it."

Israel, Tunisia agree to raise level of diplomatic relations

CASABLANCA - The level of

relations between Israel and Tunisia will soon be raised, it was agreed at yesterday's meeting between Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Tunisian Foreign Minister Habib Ben-Yahia.

The two countries agreed several weeks ago to establish interest sections, via the Belgian embassies in Tunis and Tel Aviv.

Rabin met with Ben-Yahia at one of the villas here where meet-

News agencies

ings are taking place between various statements. MK Rafi Edri also attended the meeting, as did Rabin's top military aide, Maj-Gen. Danny Yatom, the director-general of the Prime Minister's Office, Shimon Sheves, and Rabin's media adviser Oded Ben-Ami.

At the end of the talks, it was announced that a step would soon be taken to advance relations.

Meanwhile, Environment Minister Yossi Sarid arrived in Tunis yesterday, the first Israeli cabinet member invited officially to Tunisia. Sarid will participate in a two-day ministerial Mediterranean Conference on the Environment due to start tomorrow.

"This is one other sign of the peace process...Tunisia is known for many years for its moderation, political wisdom and responsibility," he added.

Palestinian journalists' group demands release of Reuter reporter

THE Palestinian Journalists' Forum is calling on Yasser Arafat to release Reuter journalist Taher Shariteh, arrested by Palestinian Police on Wednesday for allegedly distributing Hamas leaflets among the media.

Shariteh, who also works for the BBC, *The New York Times*, *Al-Quds* and other publications according to the forum, was also briefly arrested following the Nahshon Wachsmann kidnapping.

Palestinian sources in Gaza said that Arafat was upset that Shariteh distributed a Hamas leaflet Arafat claimed was faxed from Damascus calling for more attacks against Israelis. He then wanted to know why Shariteh, rather than the Reu-

LIAT COLLINS and JON IMMANUEL

ters office in Damascus, received it.

The sources said that Arafat at one point described Shariteh as "a traitor," then accused him of "falsifying facts" because Shariteh insisted the leaflet was faxed from within Gaza. That is embarrassing to Arafat, who is responsible for preventing Hamas from operating in Gaza against Israel. Worse still for Shariteh, President Bill Clinton queried Arafat about the leaflet during their Cairo meeting last Wednesday, the sources said.

The journalists claim that while in jail in Gaza, Shariteh is being

denied basic legal procedures "that are guaranteed by international treaties regarding human rights and the protection of journalists."

In a statement issued in Ramallah yesterday, the forum said it "considers the arrest of journalists in the area under Palestinian control without any legal procedure a dangerous phenomenon. We see in this action an infringement on press freedom and thereby the freedom of expression, opinion and the free flow of information and opinions."

The forum is a group of Palestinian professional journalists concerned about the state of the Palestinian media.

Israel welcomes Lebanese proposal

HOUSING Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer welcomed a Lebanese proposal to establish a joint political and military committee with Israel, but said the move needed Syrian backing to be significant.

Lebanese President Elias Hrawi has said that the committee would draw up a timetable for an Israeli withdrawal from south Lebanon.

"First of all, I must welcome the invitation. We can't reject it out of hand," said Ben-Eliezer. He noted, however, that "the proposal is completely insignificant unless Syria backs it."

(Reuters)

King Hussein lashes out at Arafat

AMMAN (AP) - King Hussein lashed out at Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat yesterday, and said he had no intention of competing with him for political and territorial sovereignty in Jerusalem.

Hussein reiterated that he would give up religious custody over Islamic shrines in eastern Jerusalem and hand it over "only to the Palestinians when they are ready to take up such responsibilities."

The monarch also rejected criticism that he broke ranks with Syria and Lebanon and said he could not put off signing a peace treaty once Jordan had resolved its conflicts with Israel.

Speaking somberly, Hussein said his patience was wearing thin with anti-peace rhetoric by Moslem fundamentalists and warned:

"It is imperative that this immediately stop."

The televised remarks came shortly after parliament referred the treaty to a committee for emergency review before starting floor debate on the document. No date was set for the debate.

Parliamentary observers expect the treaty, signed last Wednesday, to be endorsed, but if it is not the government would presumably have to renegotiate the accord or those clauses to which parliament objected.

Addressing Arafat, Hussein said: "We are not competing with our brethren in Palestine on Jerusalem or on their rights on their national soil."

He implicitly criticized Arafat

for rejecting a negotiated settlement with Israel in the 1970s when Egypt became the first Arab state to seal an accord with Israel.

"We have borne a lot of responsibilities as a result of the mistakes of others," Hussein said. "Those were miscalculations and emotional reactions which are not based on any logic... or real determination to achieve the goal [of peace]."

Hussein, in comments aimed at Syria, Lebanon and the Palestinians, said the treaty had restored Jordan's sovereignty "over every inch of Jordanian land."

"Whoever wanted this country to wait and be the last to demand its rights desired its demise, and not the successful regaining of its rights," Hussein said.

Alleged Meshulam followers shoot and wound prison guard

POLICE are searching for a member of Uzi Meshulam's sect who allegedly tried to murder a prison guard yesterday morning in Kiryat Malachi.

Two other followers of Meshulam, who shot at Benny Aviram, 40, were wounded when the wounded guard returned fire.

The two were later treated for moderate gunshot wounds at Kaplan Hospital in Rehovot, where they were kept under heavy police guard.

RAINE MARCUS

Aviram is a security officer at Ramle's Nitzan Prison, where, until yesterday, many of Meshulam's followers were being held. He left his home in Kiryat Malachi at around 6:30 a.m. when three men in a van shot at him, wounding him in the jaw, chest and shoulder.

The pistol used has not been recovered and police believe it is in the hands of the fugitive. Aviram fired back, wounding two of the gunmen.

He was taken in a private car to Rehovot's Kaplan hospital, where he underwent surgery last night. He was reported to be out of danger last night and was transferred to the intensive care unit, where he was attached to a respirator.

Aviram, married with two chil-

dren, joined the prison service in 1981 and was in charge of security in Beersheba, Ashkelon and Hebron prisons before coming to Nitzan Prison in January 1993.

Prisons Service head Arye Bibi, who visited Aviram at the hospital, praised him for firing at his attackers despite his wounds. Prison officials would now have to reassess their personal security, he added.

Meshulam's supporters were dispersed to jails around the country after the attack, while Meshulam himself was transferred from Hasharon Prison to the high-security Beersheba Prison after the attempted murder.

Meshulam and around 100 heavily armed followers held

themselves up last March in a Yehud home, ostensibly protesting what they described as the "disappearance and sale of thousands of Yemenite children," some 40 years ago.

Initially they shot at policemen and then terrorized residents. They were arrested in May after a massive operation involving 1,000 policemen and border policemen. Meshulam was also arrested. One of his followers was shot dead after he shot at a police helicopter.

His trial is presently underway, and hearings are often interrupted by rioting.

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ARRIVALS

The Interreligious Coordinating Council in Israel (ICCI) welcomes Sir Sigmund Sternberg of London to Jerusalem. During this visit, Sir Sigmund has, with the ICCI, hosted a dinner for the president of the Niwano Peace Foundation of Tokyo, Mr. Nichiko Niwano, and Mrs. Niwano.

WORLD EMUNAH
deeply mourns the death of
HARAV HAGAON SHLOMO GOREN
and extends heartfelt condolences to our
Honorary President
Rabbanit Tzvia Goren
and her family

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Daughter and son-in-law: Shirley and Nathan Kansky
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Brother and sister-in-law: Abe and Milla Levy
Grandchildren and great-grandchildren

Thousands attend funeral of Rabbi Goren

HERB KEINON

THOUSANDS of people, including the president, the chief rabbis, the president of the Supreme Court, Knesset members and entire yeshiva classes took part in the funeral procession yesterday of Rabbi Shlomo Goren, former IDF chief chaplain and chief rabbi of Israel.

The procession began at Tel Aviv's Kikar HaYehudim Synagogue, which Goren founded, and continued to the Sanhedria funeral parlor in Jerusalem. It ended with Goren's burial on the Mount of Olives.

President Ezer Weizman called Goren a "courageous military man" who had the ability to convince the military's top brass — which he said was not especially open to the needs of the religious — of the necessity and importance of observing the laws of kashrut and Shabbat in the IDF.

"One had to be brilliant and courageous to convince the IDF of the need to observe Shabbat and kashrut," Weizman said. "He did it with a great deal of wisdom."

Weizman told of a time during the worst days of the War of Attrition, when he unsuccessfully tried to dissuade Goren from visiting an army outpost which was very dangerous to get to. "I finally relented, on condition that he wear a helmet," Weizman said. "And then he set a condition, that I carry with me a book of Psalms. We made it without a mortar falling."

The Sanhedria funeral parlor was overwhelmed by people, with the crowd spilling onto the street and causing the temporary closure of Golda Meir Boulevard. Some boys climbed onto the window frame to catch a glimpse of the proceedings.

The crowd was completely quiet when Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, who served as chief rabbi with Goren, delivered a eulogy. Yosef, who was often at odds with Goren



Thousands of people jammed the streets of Jerusalem in the Sanhedria neighborhood yesterday for the funeral of former chief rabbi Shlomo Goren. (Stein/Harari)

when they were chief rabbis in the 1970s and early 1980s, praised Goren's halachic brilliance and called him a "giant of the generation." Yosef said that although there were those who tried to drive a wedge between him and Goren, the last three years of their 10-year tenure was marked by genuine respect and fondness for each other. Goren was also eulogized by

former chief rabbi Avraham Shapira, whose voice choked with emotion, and his brother-in-law, Haifa Chief Rabbi Shmuel Yashuv Cohen. In Tel Aviv, he was eulogized by the current IDF chief chaplain, Gad Navon, by close friend Rabbi Yitzhak Alfasi, and by Rabbi Shlomo Dichovski, a member of the chief rabbinical council.

Court overturns Mann's fraud conviction

EVELYN GORDON

THE Supreme Court yesterday overturned the conviction for fraud of former Bank Tefahot managing director Moshe Mann, but said that what Mann did was nevertheless morally reprehensible.

Mann was convicted in 1990 by the Jerusalem District Court of convincing Tefahot into giving him a \$1 million house in Jerusalem's Talbiyah neighborhood.

Tefahot was owned by the government until 1980. In 1967, the government decided to move it to Jerusalem and offered cheap housing loans to the bank's senior officials to encourage them to relocate. Mann, however, said he would not move unless the bank financed a two-story house in Talbiyah for him, at a cost of some 180,000 Israeli pounds.

Because the bank's board of directors considered Mann's contribution essential, they worked out a deal whereby the bank would buy the land from Mann and build and own the house. It would sell

the bottom-floor apartment and give him a cheap rental on the top-floor flat. The deal would be in force until two years after Mann's retirement, and at any time during this period, Mann would have the option of buying it back from the bank for its nominal cost — not linked to inflation — minus 3% a year depreciation.

The deal was made without consulting the appropriate government committee. Furthermore, Mann never switched the registry of the property with the Israel Lands Administration from himself to the bank.

In 1984, four years before his retirement, and after hyperinflation had virtually wiped out the sum he would have to pay, Mann finally exercised his option to buy the apartment — for about \$12,900.

The Jerusalem District Court found Mann guilty on several counts of fraud. First, it said, the entire deal with the bank was

fraudulent, because it pretended to be a contract by which Mann sold his plot of land to the bank, whereas really it was just a means of giving him benefits to which, as an employee of a government company, he was not entitled. It also said Mann justified his failure to transfer the registry of the land to the bank on the false claim that the ILA would not approve the deal — and since he never transferred the registry, he lied by listing the house on the bank's books. It therefore sentenced him to four months public service and a NIS 250,000 fine.

However, Justices Dov Levine, Eliahu Mazza and Dalia Dorner disagreed with these findings.

"From a moral standpoint, the appellant's behavior should be condemned," wrote Dorner. "The appellant... used his connections and his senior position in a government company to obtain exaggerated benefits for himself at the

public's expense."

Mann, she noted, showed no remorse for this. When questioned about the deal, he stated: "I got the house as a gift, and I'm not ashamed of it."

But the sale contract was not fraudulent, she said, because it was a real contract that served exactly the purpose it was meant to serve: ensuring that the bank could recoup its investment if Mann ceased to work there.

Furthermore, Dorner wrote, the bank knew exactly what the ILA's conditions were for transferring the registry; it was the bank's decision not to ask Mann to do so.

Dorner also said it was not Mann's job to bring the agreement to the government committee, since he was an interested party.

Finally, she said, there had been numerous press reports on the matter, and two ministers and the state comptroller had investigated it. The ministers simply "closed their eyes," she wrote.

Report: 'Davar' in financial crisis

THE financial situation of the *Davar* newspaper is extremely serious, with its accumulated deficit totaling NIS 65 million, according to an audit presented yesterday to the Histadrut leadership.

The audit shows that *Davar's* income went down 56% in real terms between 1987 and 1993. A major reason for the growing losses was the sharp drop in the number of subscribers beginning in 1987.

According to the report, in

1988, all Histadrut institutions began suffering financially, and many of these bodies and companies, which had been subsidizing *Davar* subscriptions for their workers, stopped doing so, and numerous subscriptions were canceled.

During the leadership meeting, the proposal for the purchase of *Davar* by the workers, prepared by an "action committee" of *Davar* employees, was also discussed, with several Histadrut leaders say-

ing the program would allow for the dismissal of most of the press workers and journalists.

But Shaul Rahavi of the action committee insisted that none of their proposals involved the dismissal of workers, and it was not clear on what the Histadrut leaders were basing their remarks.

He said the action committee would resume its negotiations for the purchase of the paper tomorrow and hoped they would be completed soon. (Itim)

School year still delayed at TAU, Haifa U.

NO classes were held at Tel Aviv University or at Haifa University yesterday, and none will be held today because of a strike by lower-level academic staff.

Almost no teaching is going on at either school, according to Irza Priel, secretary of the lower-level staff union at Tel Aviv University. Priel warned that an open-ended strike would begin Sunday if no agreement is reached.

Many students did not show up yesterday because of the strike, despite the fact that senior professors and lecturers are not striking. Campus laboratories were also affected by the strike.

A meeting is scheduled tomorrow between Labor Ministry officials, representatives of Tel Aviv University and Haifa University, and the union leaders. The lower-level staff claim a wage agreement reached last May 31 is not being honored.

Classes at Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba are not expected to start today, after lecturers said they would not work because their financial demands have not been met. Classes at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, however, did begin as scheduled. (Itim)

Liba'i backs bill to limit plea bargains

EVELYN GORDON

THE country's first bill to regulate plea bargains will be presented to the ministerial committee on legislation this week, Justice Minister David Liba'i announced yesterday.

Liba'i stressed that the plea bargain is a valuable tool for saving the court system's time. However, he added, it is necessary to impose limits and oversight on the system, to ensure that "considerations of efficiency do not impair considerations of justice."

The bill stipulates that plea bargains can be made only if they serve the public good, and enables the courts to cancel deals that seem not to meet this condition. Otherwise, however, the bill requires the court to be guided by the plea bargain in handing down its sentence.

The bill also forbids the prosecution to promise to hide information about the accused's criminal

past from the court, or to promise not to appeal the leniency of the sentence if it turns out to be much lighter than the deal called for. However, in order to encourage both sides to be able to negotiate freely, it also forbids either side to reveal the contents of the negotiations.

Either side would have the right to cancel the deal until the verdict is given. After that, cancellation would require the approval of the court.

Immigrant jobless rate same as general population

THE unemployment rate of immigrants who came here in the last quarter of 1990 dropped during the first third of 1994 to about 9%, about the rate of the rest of the population, the Central Bureau of Statistics reported yesterday.

About 6% of the men and 12%

of the women who arrived during that period were unemployed during the early months of 1994.

Among immigrant scientists and academics, however, the unemployment rate is higher, with 11% of them still not working.

The survey of immigrants who

came at the start of the mass wave of immigration from the former Soviet Union was conducted by the CBS for the Bank of Israel, the manpower planning authority of the Labor and Social Affairs Ministry, and the Aliya Department of the Jewish Agency.

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Fit for a 'Fairy Queen'

HARRY Christophers's musical career has been one long Sweet Sixteen party.

Back in 1977, Christophers formed The Sixteen, a 16-voice ensemble devoted to the performance of 16th-century, especially English, music.

Today, the singers have been augmented by 16 instrumentalists who join in for performances of grand choral pieces of a slightly later period, such as Handel's *Messiah*, for example, or Bach's *Minor Mass*, which they recently recorded.

In mid-November, Christophers and ensemble will land for three nights at the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv to perform Henry Purcell's *The Fairy Queen*, the first time a baroque opera will be performed in authentic style in this country.

The performances are part of a long tour for the ensemble, which makes many appearances outside of England.

"We receive no grant money at all in England. All the musical budget goes to the major orchestras in Britain. But we survive and we do get a great support from the British Council to go abroad," explained the 40-year-old conductor after a rehearsal in a London church back in September.

It's just as well. Christophers is not always thrilled to perform in front of English audiences.

"I know it sounds dangerous to say that, but the English audience is a little bit petrified and stilted. It's difficult to see them enjoying themselves."

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

Christophers adheres to the performance practice school of early music, but admits that there is no one way to perform any piece of music.

"I try to make it interesting but not too academic. My aim is to try and be as faithful to the composer but get in it a certain amount of emotion. I want to go deep down to what the composer wanted."

"The musical world is beginning to celebrate the tercentenary of Purcell's death. The English composer (1659-1695) wrote with equal skill for the theater, church, opera house, royal patrons and small ensembles."

His opera *The Fairy Queen* is somewhat loosely based on Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

"Purcell managed to conjure up the magic of *Dream* and give it a little extra," he says. "You have to be lavish when you do Purcell. He is a very English composer who tried to avoid as much as possible of the French musical idiom. It is music to be enjoyed."

Another British Purcell expert currently in Israel, Andrew Parrott, adds that "Purcell is a genius, real top quality. *The Fairy Queen* is one of his biggest dramatic pieces for the theater. After all, what can be wrong when two British geniuses as Shakespeare and Purcell meet?"

Originally, the performances were to be concert versions, which would focus on the music alone. The concept has changed somewhat and noted artist Yigal Tü-

markin has created a special design for the production, which now will be more visual than originally intended. To enhance the audience's enjoyment, huge video screens will be used to get the action as close as possible to every seat in the house.

In Britain, The Sixteen are known mainly for their extensive recording catalog, featuring more than 50 titles, mostly on the Collins label.

"It's a thriving relationship between us. I have an immense amount of freedom to record whatever I want."

The Sixteen's repertoire has expanded considerably since their inception, as has the ensemble itself. Christophers confides. The Sixteen now number 18. "I need six sopranos in the chorus. This is the smallest number possible without compromising." The instrumental ensemble now also features 18 musicians.

"These days we still do 16th-century music, of course, as well as a big Baroque work each year and also 20th-century music. It is a new area for us."

"I have the advantage of doing the music I love. I don't have to do what I don't like."

Christophers realizes that the 3,000-seat Mann Auditorium might be somewhat large for a Baroque performance. "The listener has to adjust his ears. Even in London we have problems, as the best performing spaces cannot seat more than 400-500 people which makes it very expensive to stage a concert in such a venue as you can sell triple the amount of



Harry Christophers prefers performing Purcell's opera for non-English audiences.

tickets for other halls." The soloists in The Sixteen's production of *The Fairy Queen* are renowned soprano Linda Russell, tenors Ian Partridge and Mark Padmore and bass-baritone Simon Birchall. The performances, part of the Authentica music series, take place November 15-17.

This Parrott is an original

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

working to offer his time for a few working sessions with Keshet Habaroque.

"They have no preconceptions whatsoever. They are thoughtful and very talented," Parrott says of the Jerusalem-based early-music ensemble.

"My aim here is simply to plant the seeds of ideas which they can work on when I'm away."

He is impressed with the talent of the ensemble, this country's only Baroque music group, but adds that talent alone is not enough. What is even more important is "the opportunity to develop your talent. And these musicians have much less opportunity. They can only go so far if they can't improve their instruments and bows for example. Money holds them back and I'm sure some might leave here to get more opportunities abroad, which is a pity."

Parrott's major interest these days is to create a different way in which audiences and musicians alike listen to music. "We are lazy listeners because music is too available to us. In the past they had to make the effort to go and listen to music."

Nowadays, people don't concentrate when they listen. "It's a fact of modern communications," he says. He adds that we "must be re-evaluating things all the time. Listening to music should be pleasurable demanding."

While Parrott tries to conduct at least one opera a year, he thinks that as an art form, opera has been in decline since it first

developed in the 1600s.

"The nature of opera will have to change if it is to succeed in the future. I believe the first opera, Monteverdi's *Orfeo*, was the best. Ever since, opera has essentially gone downhill. Opera has become just a vehicle for singing and not for ideas, as it used to be."

In his program with the HSO, Parrott conducts the "Ritual Dances" from Sir Michael Tippett's *The Midsummer Marriage* (1955). Parrott has been closely associated with Tippett and his work, but has some criticism about his operatic output. "I think Tippett does not write well for the voice. In the 17th century, opera composers were all singers and knew how to write for the voice. Now it has changed drastically."

Conducting the dances from one of Tippett's operas is a way to "get the essence of the opera without doing all of it."

Parrott is also concerned with performance practice research and devotes several months each year to writing about early music-related topics. "I'm concerned with the mechanics of performing music. But it's hard to switch to the analytical part of your brain," which is why he sets several months aside exclusively for writing.

Parrott leads the HSO tonight and Wednesday at the Haifa Auditorium in a program featuring, along with the Tippett dances, Stravinsky's *Symphony in C* and Elgar's *Introduction and Allegro* for strings. The soloist is German pianist Lars Vogt who performs Rachmaninov's *Rhapsody on a Theme of Paganini*.

Looks, not brains big in retro-romance

FILM REVIEW

ADINA HOFFMAN

I LOVE TROUBLE

Directed by Charles Shyer. Screenplay by Nancy Meyers and Charles Shyer. Hebrew title: *Tzurat Beketoret*. 124 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance suggested.

Sabrina Peterson Julia Roberts
Peter Brackett Nick Nolte
Sam Stribling Sam Rockwell
Matt Greenfield Robert Loggia

Leopold and Tracy they're not, but it's easy enough to see why beautiful Julia Roberts and beautiful Nick Nolte were cast in *I Love Trouble* as a competing couple of Chicago reporters who display their mutual affection by showering each other with an endless barrage of tart quips and sly rejoinders.

Visually, at least, the pair are dazzling. Roberts is leggy than ever, perched on the absurdly high heels she wears to the scenes of various violent crimes and deadly train wrecks. Her long hair has been straightened and dyed dark to match her big brown eyes and, one assumes, to give her the air of worldly sophistication that's hardly been her trademark in the past. (Roberts is an All-American con-

tradition in class; the highest-paid actress in Hollywood, she specializes in the winning portrayal of poor country mice.)

And Nick Nolte, all white teeth, deep tan and dimples, provides a fair match for fair Julia. As successful columnist and ladies' man Peter Brackett, he is, according to the script, just a few one-night stands away from losing his charm. Of course, we don't believe that for an instant. In the tradition of lovable lechers like Robert Redford and Warren Beatty, Nolte looks his best with rumpled hair, an unbuttoned collar and a guilty gleam in his eye.

Good looks, though, are nearly the death of *I Love Trouble*. Charles Shyer and Nancy Meyers' film has the polished veneer of '40s romantic comedy, minus the genre's usual intelligence and wit, its raison d'être. Do the filmmakers actually believe that the main appeal of a big city newspaper picture like *His Girl Friday* was its smoke-filled office settings and his-and-hers serge suits?

Apparently. Such stylish superficiality is the Shyer/Meyers stamp. Their *Private Benjamin* and remake of *Father of the Bride*



Julia Roberts and Nick Nolte play two competing reporters whose characters keep their clothes and their dunce caps on.

rendered them experts in cheap genre plunder, and *I Love Trouble* affords the team yet another opportunity to detach the body of a classic movie mode from its soul: in this case, a smart script.

The script at hand only smarts. These handsome reporters may appear to be racing for a scoop—something about a derailed train, a stolen briefcase, the Wisconsin state legislature and genetically

engineered cow hormones—but in fact the real contest revolves around who can cook up the stupidest, emptiest, most infantile insult. He wins with the stellar barb: "Where you from? Bitchville?"

In the meantime, their flirtatious sparring is supposed to give way magically to old-fashioned chemistry of the Nick-and-Nora-Charles sort. How could it? Such a charged bond depends not just on

the creamy quality of the stars' complexions, but on the words that come from their mouths, and the adult minds we assume lie behind them.

Time was, such on-screen verbal intercourse was just that, a simultaneous sort of foreplay and consummation that cleverly circumvented the strict production code. The clothes stay on in *I Love Trouble*, too, as do the dunce caps. The aver-

age junior-high-school battle of the sexes is more astute and suggestive than this.

Faced with such inarticulate silliness, even actors as naturally bewitching as Roberts and Nolte can do very little besides model their nice tailored outfits, bat their eyelashes, and grin sheepishly at one another. If it's shrewd retro-romance you long for, go see *Four Weddings and a Funeral* instead.

Leather, chains and clarinet solos

JOHAN RAPP

STOCKHOLM

LET the classical music police fume, says Paul Wesenlund. If it takes leather-clad musicians and screaming teenagers to get kids hooked on Bach, what's the problem?

Wesenlund, a producer, has let out all the stops with his 30-minute program, "Bach and Co.," which airs hip, fast-paced videos of classical numbers.

Gone are those exciting close-ups of an oboe soloist.

In one video, a leather-clad violinist goes ape on Brahms. In another, throngs of girls scream for Beethoven like crazed fans of Wet Wet Wet. One short comic feature shows how to build a violin in two minutes.

"It was as if I had desecrated a grave or something," Wesenlund said of the calls and letters from angry viewers jolted out of their couches over the past weeks.

But kids and even some critics have responded well to his weekly program, which aired in October on prime-time Swedish television.

The project grew out of a conference last year of about 500 music teachers from across Sweden. They were worried that classical music was getting lost on their students, bored by the typical hour-long videos of orchestra concerts.

Officials at the state channel TV1 commissioned the eight-part pilot, whose segments take their lead from MTV music videos.

"We live in a mass-media world of three minutes. That is the competition classical music is confronted with," says Goran Criborn, a composer and a co-creator of the program.

It is not clear how the program has ranked in TV ratings. Anecdotal evidence, however, suggests it may be making a splash.

Wesenlund said he received a fax from a father whose son held on to the remote control all through the show to prevent anyone from switching channels.

Playwright Neil Simon decides to give Broadway the boot

TIM KLASS

SEATTLE

NEIL Simon, the most successful contemporary playwright in America, says his new works may never again be Broadway-bound.

Fed up with costs running to \$1.5 million by opening night, dismayed by the preoccupation of impresarios with mega-hit musicals, Simon for the first time in his career is opening a play without plans to go to New York.

In fact, there are no plans to go anywhere with *London Suite*, his 30th play, which runs through November 5 at the Seattle Repertory Theater with Daniel Sullivan as director.

"I want to slow up the process a little bit, for many reasons, because of what's going on on Broadway right now," says Simon, 67.

What's going on is the musical, a lavish visual extravaganza that costs \$10 million and up and relies on tourist business. What's dying is the straight play.

New Yorkers alone cannot keep a play running long enough to recover the costs, and visitors come "primarily to see big entertainment," Simon says. "Everything has become mega—the mega-hit, the mega-buck, the mega-mega."

"I don't think there's going to be a major resurgence of plays on Broadway unless the audience starts to get tired of just going to these musicals and wants to see plays."

The Rep is spending roughly \$438,000 on *London Suite*, about typical for a main-stage production, out of an annual budget of slightly more than \$6 million, says managing director Benjamin Moore.

"There hasn't been any stress on this play so far," Simon says. "I really enjoy working with Dan, we have a very good cast, and maybe the stress is gone because I know that I don't have a million and a half dollars of [other] people's money and have to go to New York and get smash reviews to run, otherwise we close."

Even off-Broadway, Simon says, the cost would run about \$800,000.

Simon, who has never opened a play off-Broadway, came to Seattle for his first collaboration with Sullivan, a three-time Tony Award nominee for best director and artistic director of the Rep since 1981.

"He seems to go for the humanity first and the comedy second, which is what I try to do," Simon says. "If Dan was the head of some other repertory company, I'd probably go there."

The Rep won a Tony for regional theater in 1990. Since 1989, Sullivan has taken *The Heidi Chronicles* and *The Sisters Rosensweig* with Wendy Wasserstein and *I'm Not Rappaport* and *Conversations With My Father* by Herb Gardner to New York for successful runs.

Like much of Simon's most popular work, they resonate with remembrances of coming of age in New York Jewish families amid a bewildering swirl of love, tension, humor and pathos.

"I think if Wendy and Herb and Neil share anything, it's certainly a positive world view... a certain sympathy for their characters, which I don't think is very common in the modern sensibility," Sullivan says.

London Suite completes another Simon trilogy with *Plaza Suite* in 1968 and *California Suite* in 1976.

The other, strongly autobiographical, trilogy was *Brighton Beach Memoirs* in 1983, *Biloxi Blues* in 1985 and *Broadway Bound* in 1986.

For all the extravagant glitter of the set, a re-creation of rooms in the landmark Connaught Hotel, *London Suite* has a darker tone and the humor a sharper edge than in most of Simon's earlier work.

In the third of four one-act vignettes, Diana, an actress, and Sidney, a bisexual antique dealer, whose marriage was on the rocks in *California Suite*, are reunited

eight years after their divorce.

She is rich from a long-running television series. He is dying of AIDS.

Diana laments the loss of her British accent after 25 years in California.

"I sound like an American tourist. Theater brokers are going to try and sell me tickets to *Cats*," she tells her assistant. "I read an article that said more people have seen *Cats* than there are cats in America."

After Sidney arrives, she tells him, "You're upset because I gave up the theater. You've been in Greece too long, Sid."

"Our theater doesn't exist any more. They're not looking for ac-

tors these days. They're looking for helicopter pilots who can sing."

The first vignette shows a mother and daughter on the last stop of a trip abroad after the death of the mother's husband and daughter's father.

The second is a confrontation between a played-out English novelist and his career-long business manager, whom he has just learned has embezzled all his money.

In the fourth, a farce, a hotshot lawyer is immobilized in pain on the floor after his back goes out—a predicament Simon ruefully recalled from a visit to watch the Wimbledon tennis matches.



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Hizbullah and Syrian denial

EVEN Hafez Assad's most devout apologists agree that the latest round of fighting on the Lebanese border, in which one soldier was killed and two wounded, was inspired by Syria. If nothing else, the Syrians' ability to stop Hizbullah actions whenever they wish - as they did for President Bill Clinton's visit - is proof enough that they control the organization. Syria's Foreign Minister Farouk Shara made no secret of this when he promised in his interview on Israeli television that Israeli withdrawal would be followed by the cessation of Hizbullah activities.

One commentator has compared the relationship between Assad and the Hizbullah to the relations of a mafia godfather with the gangs in his territory. They don't have to report to him before every action, but they know precisely what will meet with his approval. That lately there has been some collaboration between the Hizbullah and Syrian-sponsored Palestinian groups only confirms the validity of the analogy. None of these groups could exist without the guns, money, logistic help, and training grounds Syria provides.

Nor is there any prospect of respite in these activities. Assad's failure to condemn terrorism in their Damascus press conference disappointed not only Clinton but the Israeli government. Yet an Assad condemnation of terrorism in general terms is as meaningless as Yasser Arafat's. What the West calls terrorism is for them an "armed struggle" against the Zionist occupier. They will neither condemn it nor stop it.

Perhaps the best indication of Assad's mindset was his assertion that nobody has ever traced a single act of terror to Syria. That practically all the kidnappings, plane hijackings, terrorist murders, and assassinations of Lebanese politicians and foreign journalists on Lebanese soil have been executed by Syrian intelligence or with its approval; or that almost every terrorist group in the world has received Syrian support, arms and training,

did not seem to faze him. Nor did he seem bothered by the demand for the extradition of the former Syrian ambassador to East Germany, made only a couple of days earlier by Germany and Austria. The Syrian diplomat is accused of supplying Carlos, the world's most notorious terrorist, with explosives for the lethal bombing of the French Cultural Center in Berlin. Shara himself, who in 1983 was head of Syria's tourist office in London, suddenly and mysteriously disappeared from Britain after the Syrian regime was directly implicated in attempting to plant a bomb on an El Al plane.

Another notorious international terrorist who must have escaped Assad's attention is Ahmed Jibril, a former officer in the Syrian army. His headquarters are in Damascus and his radio station, Al Quds, has hailed the bombing of the Tel Aviv bus on Dizengoff Street, the same atrocity Assad privately told Clinton he condemned.

At first glance, Assad's denial of Syrian involvement in terrorism is a breathtaking Big Lie, the kind the Nazis and Soviets were expert at delivering. The Syrians have even been bold enough not only to deny culpability in the Pan Am 103 bombing over Lockerbie, but to claim the crime was committed by "the Zionists." But Assad's denial of any connection with terrorism is also an expression of his belief that an "armed struggle" by Hizbullah, Hamas and other terrorist groups is a legitimate weapon in his battle to achieve Israeli withdrawal on his terms.

To demand abstract condemnations of terrorism from Assad is, then, an exercise in futility. If the US really intends to test his intentions, as Secretary of State Warren Christopher said it would, Washington should demand an immediate halt to Hizbullah attacks. Otherwise, announcements of progress from high administration officials visiting Damascus will be as credible as Assad's condemnation of the Tel Aviv bombing.

Turning point

THE Bosnian Serbs' rejection of the international peace plan earlier this year has come swiftly back to haunt them. Many commentators said at the time that if the Serbs would not concede what the peace-makers were asking, the day would come when it would be taken from them by resurgent Bosnian government forces.

In a well-planned surprise attack this weekend, the Bosnian army's 5th Corps overran a major Serb military complex near Bihac, capturing an arsenal of tanks and mortars as the Serbs fled in panic. The government forces moved smoothly into an expanded offensive and re-captured another 200 sq. km. of their territory held by the Serbs. The fact that the arms embargo has not actually been lifted on the Moslems has turned out to be less relevant than the fact that lifting it seriously considered. This has meant that, after the Serbian rejection of the peace plan, a blind eye has been turned on the Moslems' efforts to restock their armories and regroup their forces during the scrappy peace of the past couple of months.

Western constraints on the Moslems have been concerned only with discouraging them from accepting aid from fanatical Arabs and Iranians trying to exploit the "Islamic brotherhood" they suddenly discovered with European Moslems - a people they have scorned for centuries and ignored for 70 years of Communist rule.

The Bosnian Serbs have insisted on hanging on to the 70 percent of Bosnia they captured in the

first year of the war. They refused to accept the peace treaty's offer of one third of the territory - a provision the Moslems and Croats agreed to. When the Serbs of the rump Yugoslavia across the border grew tired of bearing the burden of UN sanctions to support their intransigent Bosnian ethnic kin, the writing was on the wall for the Bosnian Serbs. Having refused to heed it, the Serbs may now find the wall collapsing on them.

The prospect of a new all-out war in Bosnia seems closer. There appears little the international community could do to contain the Moslems if they feel the tide has at last turned in their favor. The agreement last week by the United Nations and NATO to implement a tougher air-strike policy to enforce cease-fires in Bosnia seemed both feeble and fatuous at the time. In the face of the new Bosnian government offensive, it seems doubly so. One military expert even surmised that the agreement on more robust air strikes could actually lead to less, not more, international military action. NATO's enhanced procedures for more devastating strikes would make the UN more wary of sanctioning them, he argued.

It can only be hoped that the Serb-Moslem war this time will be swift and decisive, and that the Moslems will have the sense to stop short when they have recovered land to the limits of the peace treaty. The only thing that remains certain is that there will be no real winners in this wretched little conflict.



Hard facts of survival

ARNOLD I. KISCH

RETURNING from London to view the carnage of the bus bombing in Tel Aviv, Prime Minister Rabin proposed a solution to the underlying problem.

"We cannot keep having this mixture of Jews and Arabs," he said. "There has to be a separation, not just a technical closure."

This solution isn't new. It was first proposed by the patriarch Abraham in attempting to settle his ongoing disputes with his nephew Lot. More recently, in 1937, it formed the basis for the recommendation of the British Royal Commission, headed by Lord Peel, that Palestine be partitioned into separate Jewish and Arab entities.

The problem with this elegantly simple concept is that it is very hard to translate into practice.

Arabs and Jews live in close physical proximity not only in Gaza, Judea and Samaria. In Haifa, Jaffa, much of Galilee and even parts of the Negev, the lines for potential separation of Jew and Arab are not readily drawn.

The difficulties of dividing Jerusalem so totally baffled the Peel Commission that it proposed keeping the city under British Mandatory control. The subsequent United Nations Partition Plan likewise found no workable answer for dividing the city between Jew and Arab. It called for Jerusalem to become an international city.

Perhaps, aided by today's advanced computer technology, one could devise a map separating Jews from Arabs. But the geography of the resulting entities would defy logic.

The illogic of the proposed geography of the Jewish State under the 1947 UN Partition Plan was so glaring that no serious thought was given to using the original parti-

al's legitimate right to exist on land whose ownership is in dispute down to the last centimeter. To maintain ownership of such disputed land, one must have defensible borders and strong offensive and defensive capability.

Peace treaties alone are not our best guarantee of security. One cannot realistically envision treaties that will relieve Israel of the dirty work of defending its existence against those who seek its destruction.

The PLO cannot be expected to combat Hamas in all its radicalism, any more than Syria/Lebanon can be expected to restrain Hizbullah. Israel will have to shoulder that burden as well as the burden of countering the hatred directed against the Jewish State from other sources.

In carrying out this obligation, it will, regrettably, have to do things - closing off the territories, exiling terrorists or demolishing their homes - that will be condemned by those who cannot or will not understand the fact that Israel really has no choice.

Israel is involved in a daily fight for survival. It must act with its own self-interest clearly in mind.

The answer, then, isn't drawing new lines of separation between Jew and Arab, in the hope that this will achieve a peaceful existence for Israel among the nations of the world.

It is to be strong and willing to assert Israel's national interests by whatever means - and to walk alone, if necessary.

For the foreseeable future, that is what it will take to survive as a Jewish state. Past governments understood this. Today, it seems to have been forgotten. The price for that forgetfulness could be great.

The writer is a Jerusalem-based physician.

Price of 'sealing' the city

CHAIA BECKERMAN

THERE can be no doubt that the tragic events of the past month have strengthened the resolve of Israeli Jews to hold Jerusalem above all compromise. In the face of provocation, control over our ancient capital is the symbol of Jewish empowerment.

In the wake of Hamas terror, closure of the territories, stopping most West Bank and Gaza residents from reaching the city, enjoys widespread support.

Less well understood is the dynamic created by repeated cycles of violence and closure, which make Palestinians ever more adamant in their conviction that they must have a share of control in the city.

For them - as for Jews - Jerusalem is much more than a potent religious symbol. It is the epicenter of Palestinian life.

The fundamentalists, of course, tend to see control of the city in zero-sum terms. Since 1988, the PLO has declared its commitment to dual sovereignty in an open city; but many local Palestinians would countenance a physical redrawing of the city, were that the price of achieving control over their own lives.

A flexibility on the Palestinian side to contemplate different options for Jerusalem may be viewed as analogous to Jewish willingness to compromise in the 1940s, when concession on principle (seen in the Yishuv's acceptance of proposals to internationalize the city as part of the partition plan) meant gains relative to the situation on the ground. Historically, plans by various rulers of the city have assumed such accommodation on the part of the weaker players.

Closure of the territories, however, has hardened Palestinian positions in Jerusalem, for it exacts a

high price from the innocent. For religious and secular alike, Jerusalem is the hub and crossroads of the West Bank; travel from north to south without traversing it is practically impossible.

Closure not only serves to deny the faithful access to the holy sites of Christianity and Islam; it wreaks havoc with the Palestinian economy. Owners of businesses and workers residing beyond city limits are kept from their source of livelihood, and consumers cannot reach the center. Families, friends and colleagues are separated.

The hardening of our hearts is another form of closure. The closing of our minds follows, when we stop seeing beyond slogans, forgetting our ability to consider what security demands, versus what emotion dictates.

The cycle of terror, followed by closure, followed by a mutual and escalating determination never to compromise over Jerusalem engenders a rigidity that keeps each side from even wanting to understand the other's attachment to the city.

What geographical unit comprises the Jerusalem for which our soldiers should risk their lives? (Few Israelis can define the municipal borders.) Does the formula "Jerusalem must remain forever the undivided capital of the state of Israel" have to preclude proposals in which another state also calls Jerusalem its capital? A model exists in Chandigarh - the joint, undivided capital of two Indian states.

Were the solutions to Jerusalem's seemingly intractable problems obvious, they would have been implemented long ago. Even as the physical closure persists, let us seek answers in a spirit of openness.

The 1993 closure created a bitterness among Palestinians in the territories which forestalled any possibility of the local leadership deferring the question of Jerusalem in the negotiations in order to strike a deal.

The Oslo agreement strength-

ened Yasser Arafat and the "outside" establishment at the expense of Palestinians on the "inside" who have far more commitment to building a democratic state next door to us.

The "sealing" of Jerusalem takes a high toll on a Palestinian populace that, at least in part, opposes and even condemns Hamas's outrages. But the human price doesn't stop there.

The hardening of our hearts is another form of closure. The closing of our minds follows, when we stop seeing beyond slogans, forgetting our ability to consider what security demands, versus what emotion dictates.

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The Oslo agreement strength-

The Clinton show

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

PRESIDENT Clinton's speech to the Knesset last week was at least partial compensation for all the inconvenience Jerusalem residents had to suffer as a result of the presidential visit.

For too many years, the world's attitude seemed to be that antisemitism and terror against Israelis and Jews were something Israel and the Jews had brought upon themselves, and that nothing much could be done about them.

Then along comes an American president expressing his unconditional commitment to Israel, and saying what we have always felt: that these phenomena are unacceptable, that something must be done about them.

For observant Israelis, there was an additional bonus in the religious motifs Clinton wove into his speech.

And yet there was something wrong, both with the visit and the speech. Both were about as spontaneous as the changing of the guard at Buckingham Palace.

Even Rabin's remark in the Knesset about what Clinton's pastor had said to him on his deathbed sounded contrived. Where had Rabin heard the story - at his local supermarket? And would he have dared tell the story if he hadn't known beforehand that Clinton wanted to use it without the initiative seeming to come from him?

The president's visit was as spontaneous as the changing of the guard at Buckingham Palace

There were two reasons for the lack of spontaneity. One was the very stringent security measures taken to protect Clinton. The other, main, reason was that the president's trip to our region had mostly to do with American domestic politics. It was designed to please the Jewish voter back home, while offering endless photo opportunities.

NONE OF this is meant to imply that the Clintons don't have true affection and sympathy for Israel and the Jews. It's just that it wasn't clear how much of the visit was real, and how much for show.

There was very little concrete content. Clinton's participation in the signing of the Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty was at most harmless. It was in keeping with the largely ceremonial role he played in the process leading to the agreement (unlike President Carter's role in the Egyptian-Israeli agreement).

And one may assume that the Clinton-Assad meeting last Thursday didn't bring about that vital change in Syria's attitude which would have enabled a real breakthrough in negotiations.

In at least one respect, the visit might have been politically counterproductive. With the Palestinians, the president made a major mistake, since without them there could have been no breakthrough to Jordan, and without them the peace process cannot be successfully completed.

The fact that the Palestinians are difficult, more frequently irritating than congenial, doesn't change the fact that it is a great mistake to make them feel left out.

Though Clinton's decision to cancel his planned visit to the holy places in eastern Jerusalem was probably wise, to avoid hurting everyone's feelings, he was wrong not to offer the Palestinians any candy during his Knesset speech - handing the lot to the Israelis instead.

This was not only psychologically wrong from the Palestinians' point of view; it was also wrong from the Israelis'.

Clinton might or might not like Israelis better than Palestinians, but he should have made it absolutely clear that, while fully committed to Israel's welfare and security, he believes these cannot be secured without a full and permanent solution of the Palestinian problem.

A president who wasn't embarrassed to express his commitment to Israel in the terms Clinton used, who went out of his way to show respect for the leader of the opposition, shouldn't have been embarrassed to tell Israelis the truth about the importance of the Palestinian-Israeli agreement - even if it had made Benjamin Netanyahu seem terribly out of step.

The writer is a political scientist.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

LEGITIMATE QUESTION

Sir, - In the October 14 issue, Walid Sadek, a member of the Israeli parliament, said that his conflict of being a proud Arab and a proud citizen of Israel will be lessened by peace between Israel and his fellow Arabs living in other countries. Correct. But what if there is war? He strongly urges a peace treaty with Syria that according to his party's position (Meretz) will require Israel to evacuate the entire Golan.

Should a war break out between Syria and Israel, sometime after this evacuation, what will Walid Sadek say and do? Defend Israel with his body in any way he can against his people invading his country from Syria - as did Kuwaitis against invading Iraqi soldiers? Or will he stay neutral in the conflict, as Israeli Arabs have done in the past? Or will he welcome Arab soldiers liberating his people from the Zionists? The ques-

tion is legitimate and should not be evaded.

Citizenship is not simply rights and privileges, but also responsibilities and a common fate. Sixty thousand German Jews fought in World War I for their country against Russian and Polish Jews fighting for theirs. If Walid Sadek prepared to fight? If captured, will he say, "I am an Arab like you," or will he say, "I am an Israeli and you are my enemy because you are invading my country"? This question has nothing to do with military service, but with a common fate. May I suggest that one who does not share a common fate with his fellow citizens has no ethical right - a legal right, perhaps, but not an ethical one - to vote on national issues that affect that fate. If my question is termed racist, then the word has lost its intended meaning.

Kochav Yair. NOACH MILGRAM

ELIE WIESEL

Sir, - There was an error in your story of October 19 on Elie Wiesel. Elie Wiesel is a professor at Boston University, not Boston College. Boston University is a nonsectarian university located in Boston; Boston College is a Jesuit university located in Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts. Professor Wiesel teaches an undergraduate

seminar at Boston University as well as giving lectures, and has won a teaching award.

ANDREW WEISS, Professor of Economics, Boston University (visiting Tel Aviv University)

Tel Aviv.

CONTEMPT TOWARDS

SETTLERS

Sir, - In his article of October 21, "Generous hearts," Jon Simons showed clearly his bias against "settlers" when he wrote of "the deaths and injuries which Israelis have borne, in Afula, Hadera, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv," whilst totally ignoring the deaths and injuries borne by residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza region.

Since there have been far more terrorist incidents in these aforementioned areas than in towns within the Green Line, especially since the signing of the Oslo accords, one can only presume that those dwelling beyond the Green Line are regarded by Mr. Simons as second-class citizens, who are not worthy of mention in the context of human suffering.

Of course, the tone for such an attitude of contempt towards "settlers" has been set by Prime Minister Rabin, with his constant denigration of "settlers," and his insistence upon attaching some blame to them for almost every bad thing that happens in Israel. They were even partially held responsible for the Tel Aviv bus bombing because they diverted the army's attention from an all-out fight against Hamas. (If this is really so, someone has certainly got his priorities mixed up!)

Givatayim. RHONA YEMINI

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Changing the Wiring Takes Time

By EDMUND L. ANDREWS

Again last week, there was another communications executive waxing epochal on the revolution: "This alliance of nontraditional partners — telephone and cable — will revolutionize what is delivered over your telephone, your cable television and your computer," said William Esrey, the chairman of Sprint, announcing that the long-distance carrier was teaming up with

For all the hyperbole, the information revolution has always been elusive, and has seldom unfolded quite as advertised. Remember the picturephone? Has the Internet really changed your life (yet)? Did

Confronted with marketing bluster about the information highway, the information "skyway" (wireless telephones) and ever-more-powerful computers, sane people have a right to feel fatigued. Not only that: Life doesn't feel all that different. The quality of television hasn't much improved; the promise of 500 channels hasn't materialized. People still struggle to pay their bills, fight rush hour, balance their checkbooks and balance their lives.

"It's a consistent pattern in our response to new technologies," he remarked. "We simultaneously overestimate the short-term impact and underestimate its long-term impact. And the reason is sim-

Continued on page 2

**If you're sick of
all those information
revolutions, press 1.**

Now, once again, there is widespread excitement that something big is under way and anxiety about being left behind. Middle-aged men who belong to country



The communications revolution, circa 1953: A secretary monitored her own skills. Hyperbole has bred disillusionment as technology has seldom unfolded as advertised.

Middle East Peace

By Clyde Haberman **3**

It's Déjà Vu All Over
Culture is now
recyclable. Maybe
that makes it a
kind of trash.

By Michiko Kakutani 2



Under Wraps

The cold war is over, but not the fight about its secrets.

By Tim Weiner



G.O.P.'s Big Tent Might Be Buffeted by a Celebration

BY RICHARD L. BERKE

In its determination to win big, the party has struggled to submerge its divisions on issues ranging from abortion to immigration to trade to fiscal policy. No single candidate stands out from what many Republicans view as a lackluster pack of Presidential prospects. And as the party prepares for its best opportunity in years to play a legislative role, it suffers a deep



The more successful the party becomes, the more these fault lines will be exposed, as they were in a recent series of outbursts. Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York

unexpectedly endorsed Gov. Mario M. Cuomo over his Republican challenger, state Senator George E. Pataki. For the last year, Mr. Barbour has heralded Mr. Giuliani's victory, and that of Mayor Richard Riordan of Los Angeles, as evidence that people are turning to Republicans for remedies for urban ills. Yet Mr. Giuliani was driven in part by the pragmatic calculation

Mr. Barbour, for one, could not mask his outrage. He said he understood why Representative Christopher Shays, a Connecticut Republican, canceled a fund-raising breakfast with Mr. Giuliani, and when asked if he, too, would distance himself from the Mayor,

A few days earlier, two party leaders, Jack F. Kemp and William Bennett, condemned as insensitive and unconstitutional a ballot proposition in California that would deny all but emergency services to illegal

Continued on page 4

The Nation



Marilyn Monroe: Vintage 1953.



Marilyn Redux: Andy Warhol's "Shot Red Marilyn," 1964.



Marilyn Re-Redux: Madonna in 1990 from her "Vogue" video.

Art Is Easier the 2d Time Around

By MICHIKO KAKUTANI

RECYCLING is no longer confined to Diet Coke cans and Evian water bottles. It's become one of the dominant impulses in American culture today.

Nor is it simply a matter of translating plays and novels into movies, or spinning sequels and prequels off television shows and books. It's far more pervasive than that.

Woodstock is recycled as a merchandising extravaganza, with its logo plastered on Pepsi cans and shopping bags from the Wiz. Barry Manilow grafts his own voice to the big-band sounds of Tommy Dorsey and Glenn Miller, while a new generation of fans embraces old television shows like "Gilligan's Island." Ralph Lauren recycles clothing styles from Victorian England and colonial Africa into high fashion. And Premiere magazine photographs contemporary performers recreating famous movie scenes from the past: Sarah Jessica Parker as Marilyn Monroe in "The Seven Year Itch," Ann Magnuson as Audrey Hepburn in "Breakfast at Tiffany's" and Gwyneth Paltrow as Jodie Foster in "Taxi Driver."

Whether you call it nostalgia, postmodernism or a simple vandalizing of the past, all this recycling essentially amounts to the same thing: a self-conscious repudiation of originality, a bemused preference for style over content and a boundless faith in the creative possibilities of irony and spin.

For Douglas Rushkoff, the author of "Media Virus," the techniques of "recycling, juxtaposing, and recontextualizing existing imagery and doing so with ironic distance" are the favorite tools of a new generation of artists. "What characterizes the GenX aesthetic and its conceptual preoccupation is a regeneration of imagery already in the media," he writes. "Taking

their cue from postmodern artists like Andy Warhol, GenXers examine and re-examine the images from the media that formed their own world-views and do so with humor."

Irony and allusions to earlier works of art are nothing new, of course. The difference is that the current recycling vogue has no real interest in using its borrowed references in the service of a larger artistic vision, no interest in participating in an intelligent conversation with the past. As a consequence, the results tend to be reactive rather than subversive, amusing rather than disturbing. At best, one ends up with parody or satire (the short story writer Robert Coover's dark, clever retellings of fairy tales); at worst, one ends up with ersatz reproduction (Elvis lip-synching contests).

JUST why has recycling become so fashionable? In part, of course, it's that the technology of borrowing has become readily accessible to the consumer. Video equipment enables one to splice home movie footage, say, with footage from the news, while computers, CD-ROM technology and copying machines facilitate the production of postmodernist works of collage. Cable TV exposes us to an endless loop of reruns and playbacks, while MTV pelts us with videos that mix and match new images with images filched from old movies and news reports alike.

Recycling also boasts a user-friendly appeal. As the manufacturers who have turned Monet and Mondrian canvases into living room rugs have surely discovered, it takes a lot less imagination and energy to recycle an existing image than it does to concoct something new. What's more, the familiarity of the recycled image acts as a built-in audience hook, even as it absolves the creator of any responsibility or risk.

In fact while Donald Barthelme's satiric rewrite of Snow White or Kathy Acker's satiric feminist version of "Don Quixote" have won accolades as sly postmodern-

nist deconstructions, the impulse behind them is remarkably similar to the one behind those life-size inflatable dolls based on Munch's famous painting "The Scream." In both cases, the animating premise is a joke shared by audience and creator, a joke that validates our hipness while allowing us to maintain a coy stance of detachment.

Recyclers, after all, need never reveal their own feelings or beliefs; they need only rev up the Xerox equipment and raise a skeptical eyebrow. Recycling requires no commitment, no point of view, for it's predicated on the emotions of mockery, knowingness and wit, not on those of earnestness or passion — which is perhaps why it has flourished in our post-Watergate, post-Vietnam age of irony and spin.

Indeed, things are being recycled so promiscuously these days that we are constantly left with a vague sense of déjà vu. Michael Jackson in a whimsical military jacket? Didn't the Beatles wear something similar for "Sergeant Pepper"? A deliberately cute stage show called "The Real Live Brady Bunch"? Weren't we subjected to something similar on TV in the '70's?

THOUGH this sense of familiarity can make us feel jaded, even numb, artists and advertisers like to use it to give their work a sense of freeze-dried resonance. The ubiquitous Gap ads featuring photos of Humphrey Bogart, Gene Kelly and Pablo Picasso, dressed in khaki pants, for instance, play upon their images of casual glamour and achievement. That these people had nothing whatsoever to do with trousers sold by the Gap is quite beside the point; they have been turned into visual symbols of a certain style.

Advertisers are hardly the only ones to engage in this sort of reductionism. Turning old images, events, and ideas into manipulable found objects has long been a favorite tactic of highbrow artists. The formula is

simple: wrench the item out of its original context, then colorize it, spin it or de-historicize it. In the hands of a Jasper Johns or Robert Rauschenberg, of course, this can result in provocative and daring art. More often, however, it simply degenerates into a synthetic junk shop pastiche — a Lettermanesque list of cultural tchotchkes.

By appropriating a style, an attitude, a look, recycling focuses on surface appearance. Madonna dons Marilyn Monroesque clothes and strikes Marilyn Monroesque poses, then exchanges them for poses borrowed from Marlene Dietrich, implying as she does so that identity is mutable, that labels can be shrugged on and off at will — reasoning oddly echoed by Marion Barry and Oliver North, who similarly suggest that there are second and even third acts in a life, that the past can always be reinvented.

PERHAPS the biggest problem with the recycling esthetic is that it suggests that attitude is everything, that content and context do not matter, that transformation for the sake of transformation is a worthy end.

As a result, the original meaning of a recycled item can be completely superseded or forgotten. As the writer Mike Rubin recently observed in Spin magazine, Woodstock "lent its name not only to a generation, but to the inscrutable yellow bird in Charles Schultz's 'Peanuts,' who in turn became a fowl-feathered shill for Met Life." Charles Manson has been turned into a hip symbol of alienation — his songs have been recorded by rock groups; his face has been plastered on T-shirts popular among surfers — while the likes of David Berkowitz and Jeffrey Dahmer have been turned into celebrities with their own trading cards and comic books. This, then, is the garbage heap of history that recycling can ultimately lead to: serial killers recycled as chic collectibles.

Whose Deficit, and How Big?

By MICHAEL WINES

POLITICS has its own 17-year locust, called the deficit. For long years it lies underground, chewing at the roots of prosperity, only to surface briefly around elections, for a brief chatter before diving back out of public consciousness. Well, it's almost November. What a clamor.

In one ear of the electorate, President Clinton boasted last week that his prudent governing defanged the deficit for the 1994 fiscal year that ended in September, slicing it by \$102 billion — that's one-third — from original estimates. In the other, Republicans touted a "Contract With America" stating that they would wipe out the deficit altogether if voters would just put them in power, though they were notably silent on how.

Then there is Mr. Clinton's budget director, Alice Rivlin, who was sort of in between. In a cerebral memo leaked last week to the press, she effectively said that whatever Mr. Clinton's successes, the budget is going to Hades in a handbasket unless someone reins in Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security, and maybe levies a tax or two, too.

There's the white noise of politics in all this, and there's the truth as well. Disentangling one from the other, however, is tricky. Mr. Clinton justifiably calls himself the first President in two decades whose policies have cut the deficit for two years straight. (George Bush signed into law a plan that aimed to cut it five straight years — and might have, had the economy not headed south and the savings-and-loan bailout sucked the Treasury dry.)

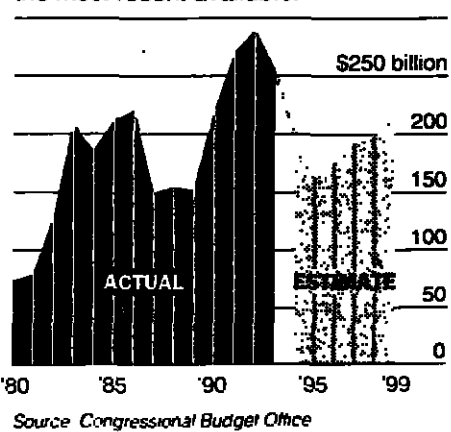
'Huge Cuts' in Spending

In Cleveland, Mr. Clinton said the lower deficit was due to "huge cuts in Federal spending" and changes in purchasing rules. But the President based the \$102 billion figure on a January 1993 White House projection of what the deficit would be for fiscal 1994: \$305 billion. That was \$19 billion higher than the estimate made at the same time by the generally straight-arrow Congressional Budget Office.

Granted, in the multitrillion-dollar Fantasyland of Federal budgeting, a \$19 billion difference is coffee money. Moreover, the \$305 billion estimate was leagues closer to the consensus of experts at the time than similar projections by Mr. Clinton's Republican predecessors.

The Deficit Track Record

Federal deficit each fiscal year. Estimates date from August; they are the most recent available.



Source: Congressional Budget Office

The New York Times

Still, \$19 billion is \$19 billion. The Congressional Budget Office would say Mr. Clinton's 1994 deficit was \$83 billion less than originally projected, and not \$102 billion less. How much of that \$83 billion is directly, arguably due to Mr. Clinton's labors? The C.B.O. would give the President credit for \$33 billion, through lower spending and higher taxes in his 1994 budget.

Since Mr. Clinton took office, a lot occurred to make the deficit shrink. The economy outperformed estimates, increasing tax revenues and cutting interest on the Federal debt. Health care and Social Security spending has been below estimates. The savings-and-loan bailout and bank rescues cost \$37 billion less than expected, partly due to a rosier economy.

The Administration's policies surely have helped keep the economy humming, yet economists agree that the economy began to hum again — though not very loud — nine months before Mr. Clinton took office.

The White House claims all the credit, just as it would shoulder the blame if the economy turned sour. Whatever the economic vagaries, the Administration's five-year budget package should, by C.B.O. reckoning, make the total Federal debt \$433 billion smaller by the 1998 fiscal year than it would have been.

Some conservative economists, like Michael Boskin of Stanford University, Mr. Bush's chief economic adviser, argue that \$240 billion or so

of that deficit reduction comes from tax increases that hinder economic growth.

Others, like Charles Schultze of the Brookings Institution, who was President Carter's chief economic adviser, say the Clinton package is "a major accomplishment." Mr. Schultze says the best measure of the deficit — its size in relation to the nation's total economic output — has fallen sharply under Mr. Clinton.

Yet it is easy to forget that Mr. Clinton's predecessor agreed to an even larger deficit reduction, in 1990, under pressure from Congress. By the C.B.O.'s estimate at the time, that package was to cut the growth of the debt by \$482 billion from fiscal 1991 to 1995, through tax increases, spending cuts and savings.

Taxes did go up, and domestic spending was effectively capped. But the deficit rose anyway — albeit less than it would have — because of the stubborn recession.

Lost amid the credit-taking and finger-pointing is the fact that Mr. Clinton and Mr. Bush really took the easy whacks at the debt, hacking at the one-third of spending under their direct control. The remaining two-thirds consists of interest on the Federal debt and benefit programs, like Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security, whose annual amounts are set by fixed formulas and which have wide support.

Mr. Clinton argued in Cleveland — correctly, virtually all economists say — that medical spending is the root of the deficit. He took a direct swipe at Medicaid and an indirect one at Medicare this summer by proposing health care reform. But some economists, like Chris Probyn, the chief forecaster at DRI/McGraw Hill, think Mr. Clinton's health plan would have caused the overall deficit to rise.

A Sinkhole Ahead?

Mr. Clinton has ruled out any cuts in Medicare except with broader health care reform. And he has ruled out any action on Social Security, which will become the sort of economic sinkhole early in the next century that Medicare is becoming now.

Ms. Rivlin's memo lays out the peril: by C.B.O. estimates, the deficit will be 2.3 percent of the gross domestic product in fiscal 1995, which began Oct. 1. It will rise to 3.6 percent, or \$397 billion, by 2004. By 2020, she estimates, the deficit will run close to \$1.5 trillion a year.

Mr. Probyn calls the President's deficit-cutting efforts "a sharp left jab, maybe even a left hook." But without a strategy to control benefit programs, he said, "they're just buying time."

Installing All the New Wiring Takes Time

Continued from page 1

ple: technologies diffuse through society with remarkable slowness."

Early this century, Mr. Saffo noted, airplane promoters envisioned a glorious era when people would have personal aircraft they could fly to work or their friends' homes. Some writers suggested that airborne views would give people a lofty new world perspective, making them less territorial and more peaceable.

Not Exactly

Nothing like that ever happened, but what did happen was more earth-shattering. Big companies built huge aircraft that could fly hundreds of passengers around the world. So while almost nobody uses a plane to travel locally, millions fly across continents and become incensed when their trip to Paris is three hours behind schedule.

And so it goes with changes in the way people communicate. A.T. & T. has twice tried to launch videophones, once in the early 1970's and again in 1991 with much newer technology. Company executives were convinced that people would be eager to see each other as they talked on the telephone. But the phones were a complete flop, partly because the video images were jerky and distracting and partly because they cost nearly \$1,000 apiece. (And really, who wants to worry about how they look just to make a phone call?)

On the other hand, the explosion in popularity of cellular telephones caught many experts completely by surprise. Ten years ago, A.T. & T. predicted that fewer than a million cellular customers would sign up by the year 2000. Today, there are more than 16 million and the number is still growing by more than 30 percent a year. This year, according to an industry trade group, wireless phones accounted for two-thirds of

all new telephone numbers assigned in the United States.

Meanwhile, it is children who are often pushing the frontiers of "multi-media" computers that use CD-ROM drives to display video, sound and text. College students and teenagers have become driving forces behind wildly popular interactive fantasy games over the Internet known as "M.U.D.s" — an abbreviation for "multi-user dimensions."

"When I hear a person saying they've just discovered CD-ROM, I know they have a 5-year-old child," remarked Nicholas Negroponte, founding director of the Media Laboratory at M.I.T. "When I hear someone saying they just discovered M.U.D.s or M.O.O.s" — a variant of a M.U.D — "I know they have a 12-year-old."

Small wonder, then, that those who run telephone companies are now reaching out to Hollywood (as they did last week in a sit-down with the super-agent Michael Ovitz).

Guess Again

But that may not guarantee success either. When the GTE Corporation launched a highly publicized experiment several years ago to deliver movies-on-demand over fiber-optic lines in Cerritos, Calif., customers rarely ordered more than two or three movies a month. Video games caught on, though, so GTE recently built a digital-production center devoted to creating games.

Whatever happens, individuals are likely to have more choice and power to communicate directly with the company offering information or entertainment. Still, Jerry Michalski, managing editor of Release 1.0, a technology newsletter, warns: "Companies today still think about people as consumers who need to be trained. They're going to have to start thinking of them as people they have to live with."

The World

Suddenly, Arafat Is Odd Man Out

By CLYDE HABERMAN

JERUSALEM
THE stark reality about the peace treaty that Israel and Jordan signed along their arid border last week is that the person perhaps most responsible for it was hardly President Clinton, who held center stage in the desert pomp and circumstance, but Yasir Arafat, who was not even invited.

Had Mr. Arafat, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, not gone first, coming to terms with Israel a year ago, it is unlikely that King Hussein of Jordan would have plucked up the political courage to forge ahead with a deal of his own. Yet if there was a loser last week in the Middle East's version of Chutes and Ladders, it had to be the P.L.O. chairman. That seemed to be how he viewed it as well.

Palestinians who have met with him in recent days say he worries aloud about King Hussein's intentions. He thinks, they say, that even though the King lost the West Bank to Israel in 1967 and renounced responsibility for it in 1988, he is still looking for a way to get it back. Hence the treaty with Israel.

These Palestinians add that Mr. Arafat suspects that Jordanian intelligence agents are surreptitiously helping Hamas, the radical Islamic group responsible for more than 25 deaths in terror attacks this month against Israel. Jordan, in this view, wants to help Hamas embarrass Mr. Arafat by showing that his Palestinian Authority has lost control even in the Gaza Strip and tiny Jericho, which it administers. Is he to be trusted with greater responsibility?

While the theory seems far-fetched — that King Hussein would countenance a slaughter of Israelis just as he is making peace with them, or that he hopes to reverse the tide of Palestinian nationalism at this late date — what is important is that Mr. Arafat is said to have such suspicions. If the reports are correct, Mr. Arafat sees a plot to keep him locked up in unloved Gaza, well away from the more valuable West Bank and certainly from the ultimate prize: Jerusalem.

A Long History

In fact, many Palestinians are convinced that Jordan and its Israeli partner are in league against them. The P.L.O. leaders can plainly see that Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is charmed by the King, who lights his cigarettes before the cameras, and feels his gorge rising whenever he lays eyes on Mr. Arafat. King Hussein, too, has little use for the P.L.O. leader; the enmity goes back to 1970, when Palestinians in Jordan tried to topple him and failed. It is clear that Jordan and Israel prefer each other's company, and each has a long history of justified fear that Palestinian Arabs under its control will rebel. The Palestinians deduce that preferences and shared antipathies have a way of turning into decisions and then actions.

As it is, they feel exploited by Israel. From where they stand, Israel has used the Declaration of Principles of September 1993 — and the famous Rabin-Arafat handshake — as a springboard to new relationships with the Arab world. Israel has since signed its treaty with Jordan, set up interest offices in Morocco and Tunisia and talked business in the Persian Gulf. A three-day congress opens today in Casablanca, Morocco, to chart economic direction for the Middle East and northern Africa; Israel is sending eight Cabinet members, plus dozens of industrialists and economists.

It is little surprise that Palestinians have begun asking: What about us? They feel shunted to the side, and, while chutes can quickly turn into ladders in the Middle East, they see themselves sliding backward.

Times are tough in Gaza and the West Bank, which the Israelis sealed off after the latest wave of Hamas



King Hussein of Jordan and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin after the treaty signing. Yasir Arafat, the P.L.O. chairman, was not invited. At left, reaction in Beirut.



terrorism. Financial help from the West has dribbled in, at best. As belts tighten, Mr. Arafat can expect his popularity in Gaza to drop and that of Hamas to rise.

Meanwhile, talks with Israel on Palestinian elections and to expand Palestinian self-rule throughout the West Bank are at a crawl, and little suggests that Mr. Rabin is in a hurry. For Mr. Arafat, a delay may be ruinous. He may not be entirely paranoid in worry-

ing that Israel and Jordan have ganged up on him.

Their treaty suggests powerfully that Islamic shrines in Jerusalem should come under the King's jurisdiction when the holy city's permanent status is negotiated. That is a privilege Mr. Arafat reserves for himself, just as he proclaims the eastern parts of Jerusalem to be the capital of a future Palestinian state. He — and not Israel — will decide, he says, whether King Hussein gets to pray at Al Aksa mosque. The part of the treaty dealing with holy places really angered him; on the eve of the signing, he said that anyone who does not accept Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine can "drink Gaza sea water."

It was at Israel's insistence that the P.L.O. agreed last year to set aside the city's ultimate fate for the final stages of negotiations. Having done that, it now sees Israel raising the issue with Jordan. That persuades many Palestinians that Jerusalem has been carved up while their backs were turned. From that, it is a small leap to assuming the West Bank is next.

There was an "et tu Brute" tone to an editorial last week in Al Quds, an ardently pro-Arafat newspaper in East Jerusalem. The closer one looks at the treaty section on Muslim shrines and Jordan, it said, "the more unintelligible it becomes and the more mysterious become the intentions behind it."

"Palestinians," the newspaper observed dolefully, "have been hurt by friends and foes alike."

Don't Send In The Foreign Legion!

By HOWARD W. FRENCH

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast
AMERICAN diplomacy, newly awakened to Africa by the need to intervene in places like Rwanda and Somalia, is discovering that one of the most stubborn obstacles to constructive change on the continent is an old friend: France.

For five years, while a civil war has raged in Liberia, some of France's closest allies in West Africa have generously played host and supplier to the conflict's most belligerent combatant, Charles Taylor.

Across the continent in Rwanda, France equipped the large army of the dictatorial (and now late) President, Juvenal Habyarimana, which eventually grew powerful enough to undertake a full-blown ethnic massacre this spring that will stand as one of the worst, and probably the swiftest, of the century.

In Togo last month, four years after President François Mitterrand warned African leaders that French aid would now depend upon progress toward democracy, France's Economic Cooperation Minister, Michel Rousin, came to restore assistance and was publicly decorated as a national hero — by Gnassingbé Eyadema one of Africa's longest-serving dictators.

Alone among the world's former colonial powers, France has never fully ceded control over its onetime possessions in Africa. Instead, in the three and a half decades since the independence era dawned here, it has worked at preserving its African domain, undermining states it sees as challenging its influence and stunting the emergence of mature states among its friends with a suffocating brand of paternalism.

Liberia's civil war is a case in point. While Nigeria and Ghana, two former British colonies, have let efforts to end the conflict — fielding a regional peace-keeping force at great expense — French businessmen have profited handsomely from the logging of exotic tropical hardwoods and the smuggling of diamonds whose revenues have fueled fighting by the country's warlords.

France has turned a blind eye to the supply of arms to Liberia through states where its word is often as good as the law, American diplomats say. They add that this has as much to do with thwarting Nigeria, the region's demographic (and potentially its political) giant as it does with economics.

Africa for the French

From Ghana's early days of independence from Britain in 1957, when Kwame Nkrumah espoused African unity and was quickly isolated by his French-speaking neighbors, to Nigeria's civil war, in which France supported the Biafran secessionists, Paris has been eager to contain the influence of Anglophones on the continent, or at least keep them in disarray.

Language has long been at the center of French geopolitics, with Paris eager to use its cultural influence to strengthen its economic and political hand overseas. This preoccupation was palpable in the groans heard in France when Tutsi insurgents took over in Rwanda after defeating the Rwandan Army in the chaos following its massacre of Tutsi. The disgust was not so much over the defeat of France's former Hutu partners, but because years of exile had made their Tutsi conquerors more comfortable in English than in French. That exile was primarily spent in Uganda, the former British colony whose growing influence in the region prompted the French arming of Rwanda's army in the first place.

For much of the cold war, an otherwise preoccupied Washington was content to see a European ally govern African affairs, secure in the knowledge that as long as the French were omnipresent, Soviet ambitions would be contained. Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, however, American policy makers have increasingly come to view France's aim of holding together a political, economic and cultural empire under the banner of "La Francophonie" as an obstacle to the goals of building an open world trading system, supporting new democracies and encouraging the emergence of mature regional security arrangements for the third world.

During his first official trip to Africa last week, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott said the United States' eagerness to work with the United Nations in Haiti, drawing countries as far away as Bangladesh into peace-keeping there, was done as much with an eye to Paris as it was to Moscow. In both instances, he said, Washington wishes to send a message that the old ways of designated spheres of influence must be abandoned. "What we would like to get out of the Haitian experience is to send the message that we are out of the Monroe Doctrine," Mr. Talbott said. By the same token, American officials say, much of Africa — notably France's former colonies — would benefit from greater diversity in foreign relations.

Another 'Fashoda'

Like observers elsewhere, many in France, of course, will come away from the United States-led operation in Haiti with the opposite message: When push comes to shove, Washington still reserves the right to do as it sees fit in its own "neighborhood."

In Africa, in any case, there is little chance of France receiving Mr. Talbott's message as intended. While the former colonial power re-examines its role in Africa, agonizing over the cost of maintaining a neo-colonial empire, France eyes the United States with mounting distrust. When it speaks of Africa these days, the French press talks ominously of the coming of a second "Fashoda," recalling the humiliating ultimatum delivered to France by the British in 1898 to withdraw from its base of that name in the Sudan.

France's perceived "enemy" in Africa nowadays, rather than London, is Washington. For those who proudly defend its mission in Africa, right or wrong, France too often has been the only Western country that has stood up for the struggling continent in world affairs. "No one attacks those who have no African policy," a French official recently told the newspaper *Liberation*. "Whereas us, every time we budge, we receive a blow."

There are, however, French voices critical of the country's traditional coziness with African despots so long as they help protect a sphere of influence — known as the game reserve, or "chasse gardée." An article on the Franco-American competition in Africa recently in *Le Monde Diplomatique* concluded on this note: "France would have without a doubt run less of a risk of seeing its influence decline if, rather than appearing to support dubious dictators clinging to power, it clearly took the side of younger generations eager to put an end to arbitrariness, waste and corruption."

Filling the Void and the Bases in Panama

By CALVIN SIMS

PANAMA
AMERICAN opponents of the 1979 treaty giving Panama control of the Panama Canal have long raised fears that this banana republic of 2.5 million people cannot possibly manage the waterway and its vast military bases and properties.

Driving down Gaillard Highway, the Canal Zone's main thoroughfare, it is easy to understand their trepidation. To the left of the roadway, on the property that has already reverted to Panama, are weeds seven feet high. To the right, on land still overseen by the United States, are beautifully manicured lawns and gardens.

And yet dreams are gathering for a Panamanian "city of knowledge" to be built on the bases that the Americans are scheduled to turn over by 1998.

The new government is scrambling to come up with a plan that will exploit the canal and the 500-square-mile corridor surrounding it. In recent weeks, the newly elected President, Ernesto Pérez Balladares, and his cabinet, mainly Foreign Minister Gabriel Lewis, have been promoting a grandiose scheme to convert the bases into universities and training centers that would attract top students from throughout Latin America.

The idea, which United States officials here have dismissed as dubious, is to create a sort of American university on the Canal, using the facilities of the military bases. For example, military housing would be turned into student dormitories, and the officers' club into the faculty lounge.

The institutions would be similar to the American University in Cairo and Beirut and would be accredited

by college and university boards in the United States. American academicians said that to their knowledge no such accredited institution exists in Latin America.

"We hope to exchange United States soldiers for an army of international students and professors," Mr. Lewis said. "Where troops once trained for battle, we hope to educate the very best scholars and professionals from Latin America. I can't think of a better use for these operations."

Converting military bases into premier institutions of higher learning is no simple task.

While American and Panamanian officials agree that steps have been taken to insure that the canal will be run smoothly after Panama takes it over, many properties turned over since 1979 have been grossly mismanaged. Some of these assets, like the Canal Zone's railroad, have been shut down altogether.

\$50 Million for Starters

The plan for the university needs about \$50 million to get off the ground. Then, tens of millions of dollars a year will be needed just to maintain the grounds and buildings. Panama, which has an unemployment rate of 13 percent and half of its population living in poverty, has no money for the project. The United States, which is not required under the treaty to help maintain any canal properties after they revert to Panama, has shown little interest in the idea.

Furthermore, Panama has no guarantee that if it builds the university, Latin Americans will come. Universities around the world are facing hard times and aggressively competing for students. In addition, most upper-class Latins are happy sending their children to schools in the United States and Europe and are not

expected to change their ways.

Still, the Panamanians say they are committed to their "city of knowledge" and are drawing up plans to convert the first military base, Fort Amador, within three years.

Mr. Lewis said Fort Amador would house three schools: a university, an institute of technology and an institute of oriental studies, that can accommodate about 25,000 students. Tuition would be set low and admission standards high, Mr. Lewis said.

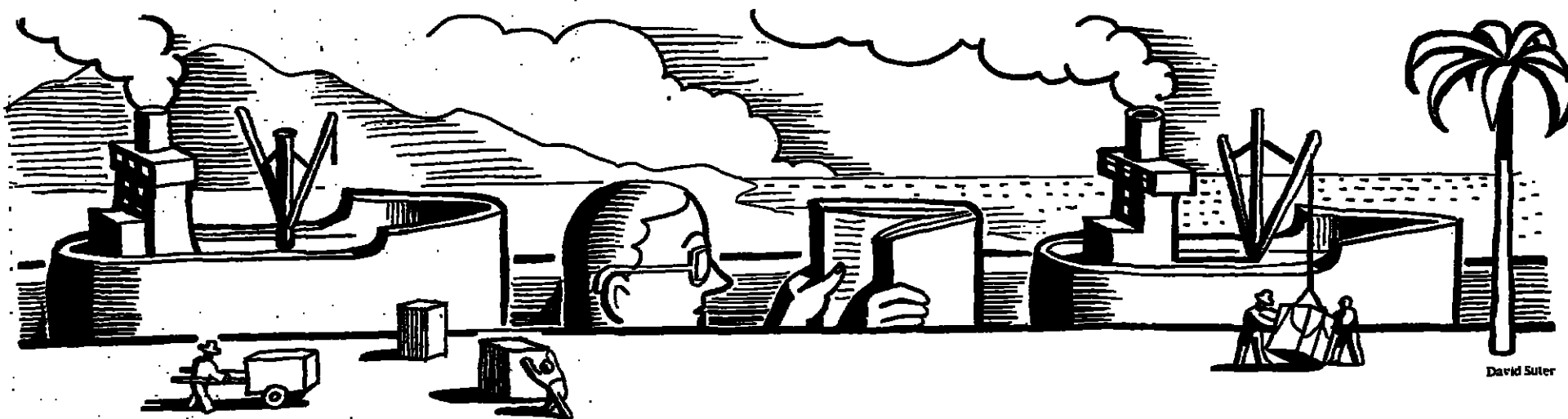
Financing to convert Fort Amador, which is scheduled to revert to Panama next year, will come from businesses in Panama and abroad, Mr. Lewis said. He mentioned that Japanese and Israeli companies that do business in Panama had expressed interest in participating in the project. Since announcing the plan this month, Panama has received \$2 million in commitments and expects to raise \$15 million by the end of next year.

Fernando Aramburu, general manager of Petroterminal of Panama S.A., which has donated several hundred thousand dollars to the project, said he saw no other use for the bases. "The government has the assets and has to do something with them or else they will just sit there and start to rust," Mr. Aramburu said. "Education is the key."

Much is riding on the university project. It would offset some of the \$400 million in jobs and economic activity that is expected to be lost when the last Americans leave.

The canal has another kind of value to Panamanians, too. "There are a lot of people who would like to see us fall flat on our face in trying to manage one thing that is most associated with our country," Mr. Lewis said. "We don't intend to let that happen."

the New
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David Suter

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10/30/94

The Nation

Keeping the Secrets That Everyone Knows

By TIM WEINER

MORE than 30 years after his death, John F. Kennedy has gone through several incarnations: martyred saint, manic satyr, Manichean statesman. Now history has to confront his legacy as a covert operator.

Locked away in secret Government archives on the Kennedy Administration are hair-raising tales from the cold war: how he trained thugs in Latin America, rigged foreign elections, sucker-punched prime ministers and potentates. What was the thinking behind his attempt to depose "Papa Doc" Duvalier, the dictator of Haiti? What was the depth of his involvement in attempts to kill Fidel Castro? Though the broad outlines

Reflexively, bureaucrats hide any seamy details about Kennedy's foreign policy.

of these tales are known, the full story is still veiled.

The law places a 30-year seal of secrecy on classified Government documents. For the Kennedy papers, that time is up. But those who would unseal the archives are finding their struggle increasingly difficult.

The problem is the Government's secrecy bureaucracy — officials whose task it is to decide when a secret is no longer too delicate to reveal. It has no secret orders to skew history. But it does have a strong sense that the past has the power to embarrass the United States — and shouldn't be allowed to.

But that power to embarrass is debatable. Cheddi Jagan, now President of Guyana, says he knows perfectly well that President Kennedy cooked up a plot that overthrew him as Guyana's leader three decades ago.

So why should the records stay sealed? The people who make American foreign policy "should at least know their own history," he said in a recent interview.

But sealed the records are, and they may stay that way. Historians had high hopes 18 months ago when the Clinton Administration promised a new executive order on government secrecy. The country would have the least secretive policy since the birth of the modern national security apparatus in 1947. It looked like documents 25 years old or older would be readily declassified, and the hidden Kennedy history revealed.

Going Nowhere

Nothing has happened. The policy remains a nice idea going nowhere. It is bogged down in endless squabbles at the C.I.A., the State Department, the Justice Department and the National Security Council, and was last seen heading for the memory hole.

Cold war historians are increasingly looking to the State Department's official record of American diplomacy, *The Foreign Relations of the United States*, published regularly since the 19th century. The State Department's Kennedy files are ripe for review and release under the current law that, in some cases, allows declassification of papers after 30 years.

But the process of releasing the Kennedy files for the Foreign Relations series is giving the Government fits. And the struggle may create a new precedent. A committee of historians with a legal mandate from Congress is reviewing the State Department files for the Foreign Relations series. The committee received new powers after its chairman resigned four years ago, protesting the Government's deletion from the official record of the C.I.A.'s 1953 coup in Iran, which put Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi in power. The historians have the power to speak out if they think Government secrecy was falsifying the public record, to call for the release of crucial documents, and to block publication of censored official histories that present inaccurate pictures of American policy.

The Kennedy files have created two crises for the historians. A new volume on Guyana may not be



President John F. Kennedy in the Oval Office in 1961.

published, due to Government reluctance to declassify the documents on the plot to unseat Mr. Jagan. Another volume dealing with Japan is in limbo, because it contains records on the Kennedy Administration's secret support for Japanese conservatives.

No Distortion, No History

The committee says it will not publish histories distorted by secrecy. Unless State Department officials release the disputed papers, the volumes will be withheld from publication, creating an unprecedented empty space on the shelves of American diplomatic history. Similar struggles are likely to happen over and over with the Johnson archives, the Nixon archives and on

down through the corridors of history, unless a policy that errs on the side of openness is created. But on hopeful advocates of the changes Mr. Clinton promised say they have lost their faith.

There is no grand conspiracy here, no cabal of censors looking to preserve Presidential images or deep-seated stories that belong in history books. Instead, there is an almost Victorian sense that acknowledging a dirty secret in detail is somehow more shameful than letting others tell the story. So the Government's gears, long calibrated to conceal classified papers, grind on in the clockwork movement of a cold-war bureaucracy that was supposed to have been swept away with the Berlin Wall and the rest of the rubble from Kennedy's "long twilight struggle."

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Your Gift Search is Over

G.O.P.'s Tent May Tremble

Continued from page 1

allens. Gov. Pete Wilson and the Republican candidate for Senate, Michael Huffington, have made the proposition the central theme of their campaigns.

"I just raised some legitimate questions," Mr. Kemp said, "and we're getting our heads knocked off by our old friends in California." He said the rancor over his comments "is a manifestation of what will be a struggle for the soul of the party."

Then there was the comment late last week by Teresa Heinz, a prominent Pennsylvania Republican who is the widow of Senator John Heinz. She described Representative Rick Santorum, the party's nominee for Senate, as "overflowing with glib ideology" and "Forrest Gump with an attitude."

These clashes are about more than loyalty. They raise the question of whether party is ready, or willing, to make appeals beyond a narrow conservative base. The challenge is whether the party can follow the model of the Roosevelt coalition, in which disparate Democratic factions stuck together for decades in Congress.

This year, Republicans have regrouped by fastening upon a common enemy. Bill Clinton, they say, has done more to unite the party than anyone since Abraham Lincoln. "As long as the focus is on Clinton, the Republicans are going to do fine," said Jim Pinkerton, a former adviser to George Bush.

But if victorious Republicans cannot make a good show of governing, Mr. Clinton could base his 1996

They might celebrate, but some revelers can't stand one another.

campaign on bashing the Republican Congress. "Newt has to lay aside the persona of bomb thrower and try to redefine ideology, redefine conservatism, into something that he would argue is more positive and more future-oriented," said John J. Pitney Jr., a government professor at Claremont McKenna College in California.

In an effort to define themselves, more than 300 Republican House candidates signed a "Contract With America" pledging to cut taxes, increase military spending and balance the budget — all at once. For that to happen, the Republicans would probably have to propose huge cuts in entitlement programs. The other option is to shelve the contract — and risk being tagged as hypocrites or lumped with the Democrats as part of a Congress that cannot get anything done.

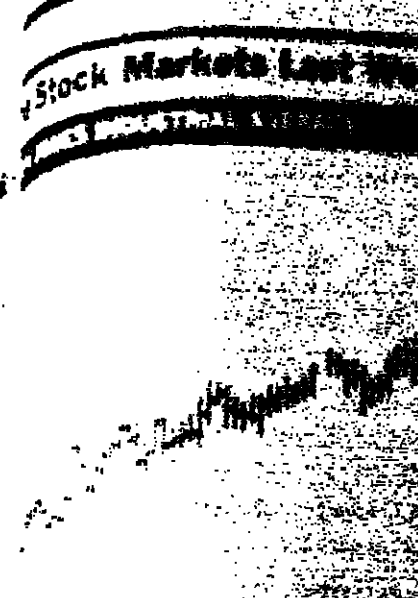
Representative Constance Morella, who represents a largely Democratic district in Washington's Maryland suburbs, already seems to harbor second thoughts about signing the contract. She said it was important for her party to present a consensus but regrets that Democrats are portraying her as committed to the entire contract. "It's not like I'm in favor of some things in it, like increasing defense spending," she said.

Some say the awkward embraces of recent months demonstrate that Republicans can compromise. It may have been through clenched teeth, but the Senate Republican Leader, Bob Dole, did endorse Oliver North. Mr. Gingrich, who shot to the top by disparaging his party as too accommodating to Democrats, has taken to praising Gov. Christine Todd Whitman of New Jersey, who has more in common with George McGovern on issues like abortion and gay rights.

And though it is widely known here that Mr. Dole can't stand Mr. Gingrich, the two are behaving like pals preparing to rule their roost. "They've worked hand in hand in the last few months as though they've been allies for decades," said Frank Luntz, a pollster for Mr. Gingrich. "That's what victory does for people."

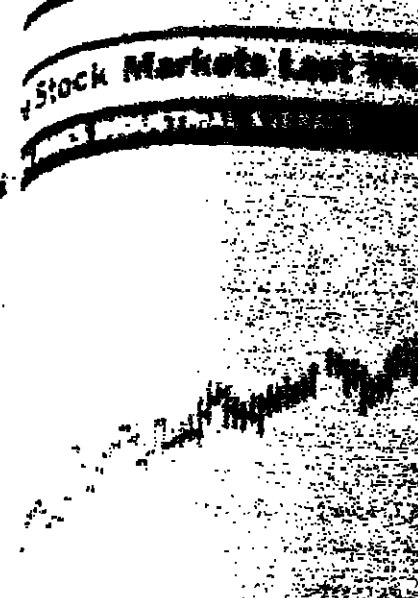
That begs one question: What happens after the victory?

Stock Markets Last Week				
Index	Week	Chg.	Index	Week
DOW	10,200	+25	NASDAQ	2,100
FTSE	2,800	+10	HK	10,000
IBEX	3,500	+20	BOVESPA	12,000
MOEX	1,500	+10	WSE	1,000
SESTOXX	1,500	+10	SESTOXX	1,500



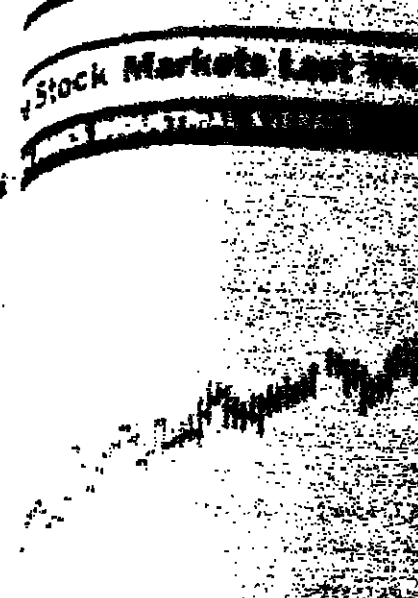
Line chart showing stock market performance over time. The chart displays a fluctuating line with an overall upward trend, representing market indices. The x-axis represents time, and the y-axis represents the index value.

Stock Markets Last Week				
Index	Week	Chg.	Index	Week
DOW	10,200	+25	NASDAQ	2,100
FTSE	2,800	+10	HK	10,000
IBEX	3,500	+20	BOVESPA	12,000
MOEX	1,500	+10	WSE	1,000
SESTOXX	1,500	+10	SESTOXX	1,500



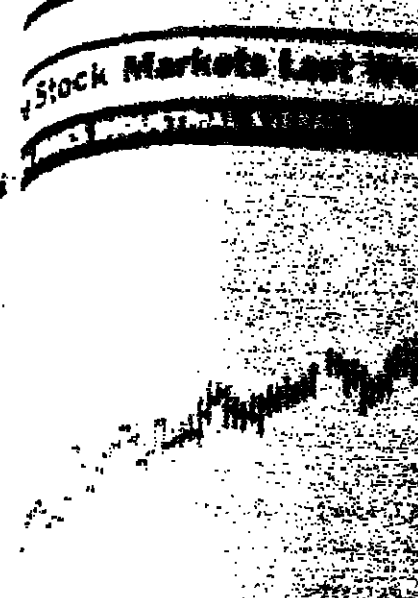
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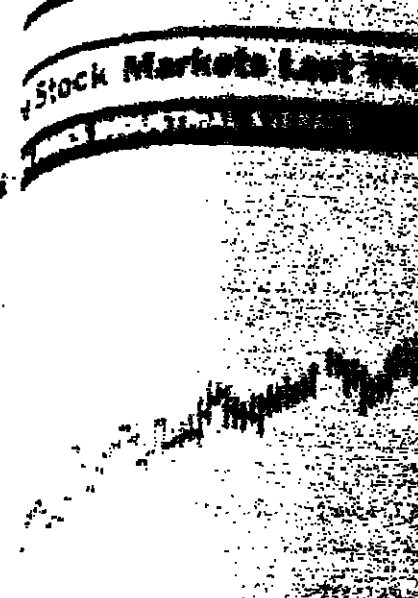
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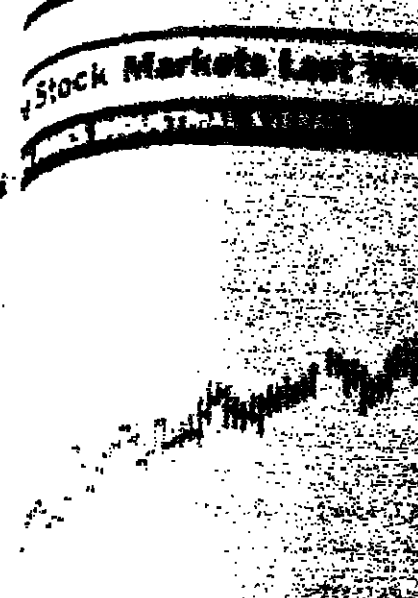
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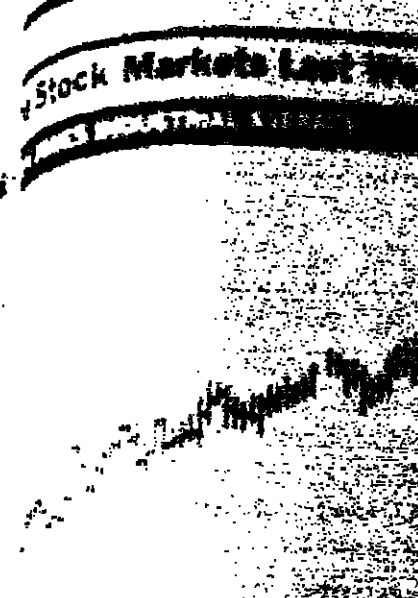
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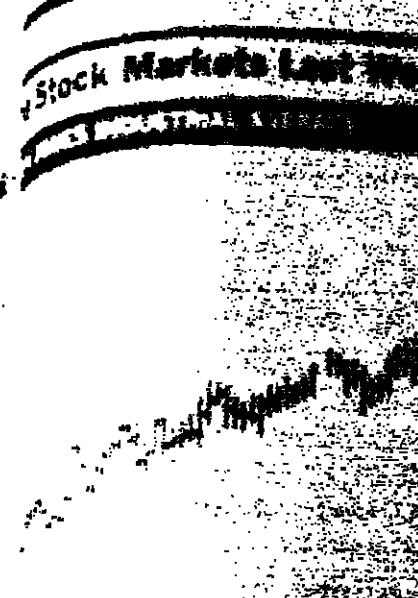
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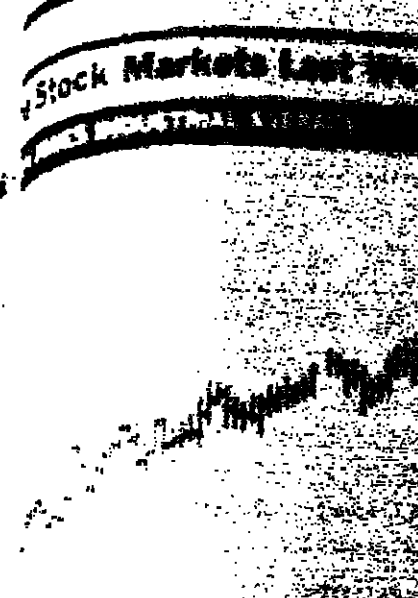
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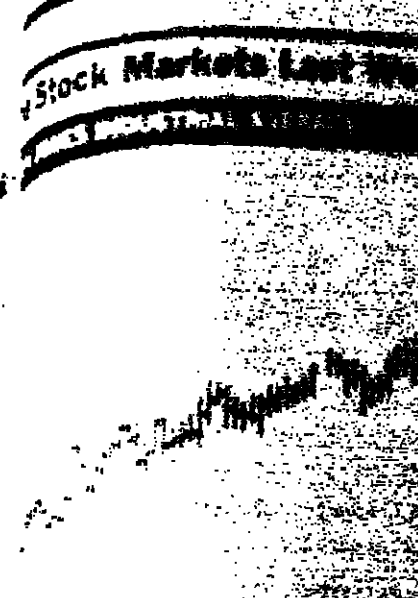
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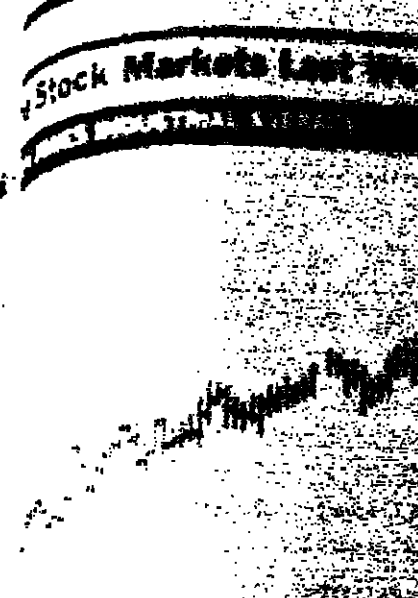
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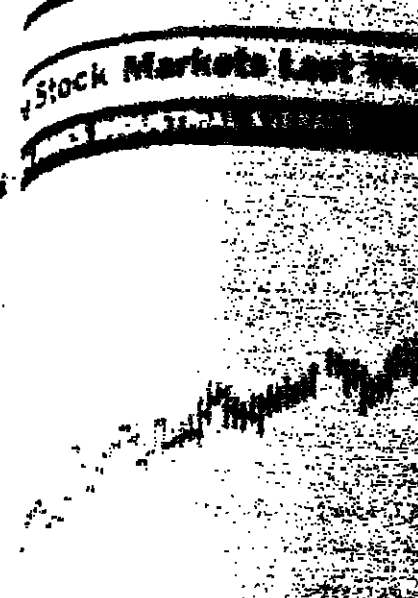
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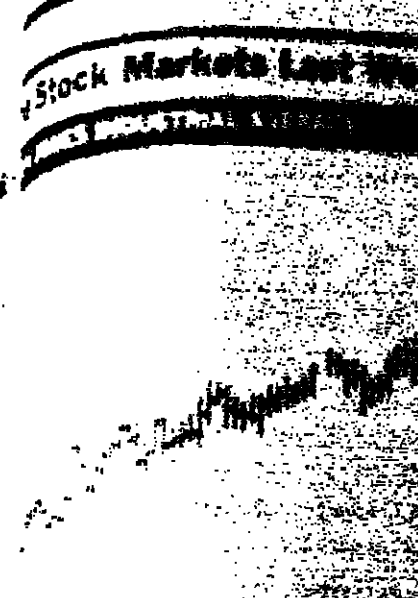
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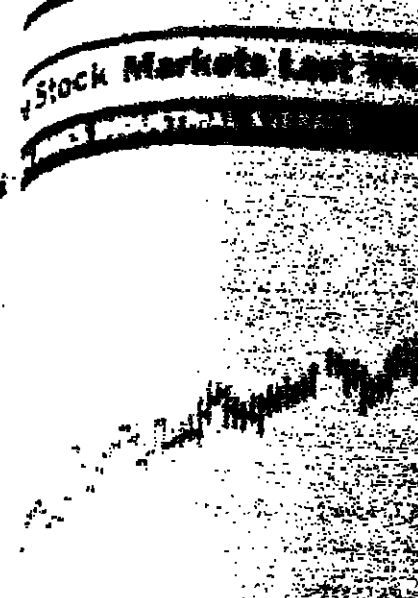
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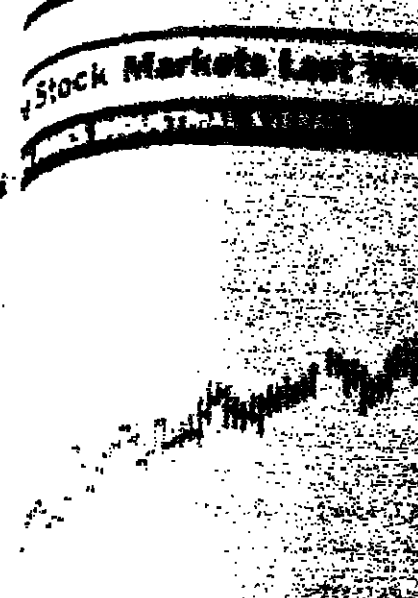
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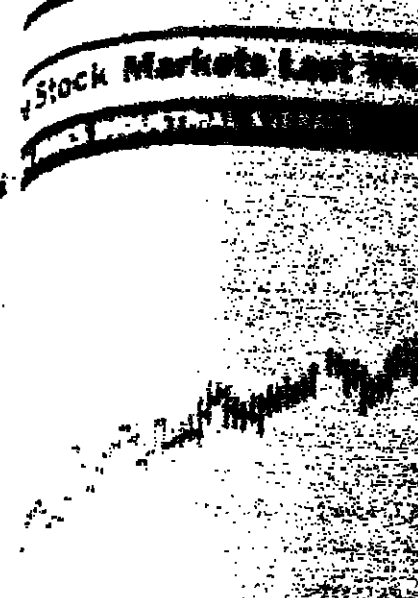
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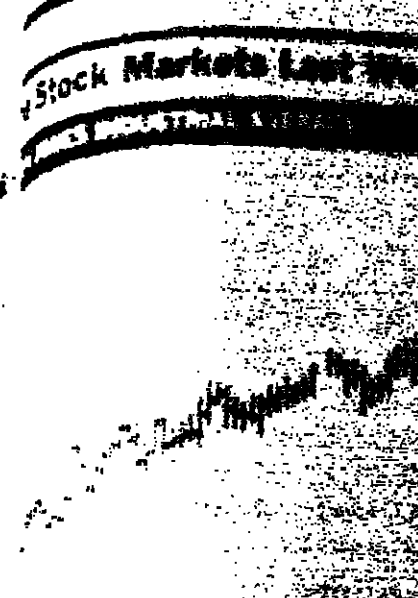
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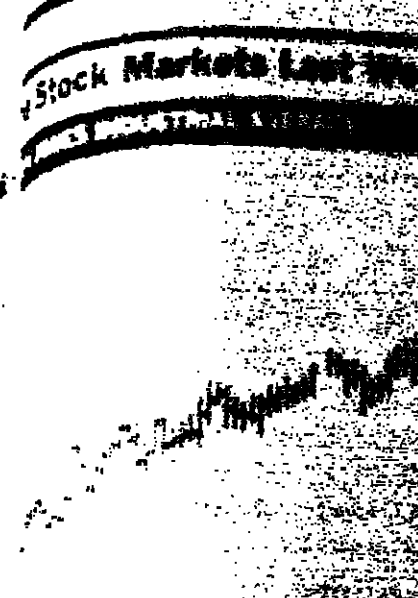
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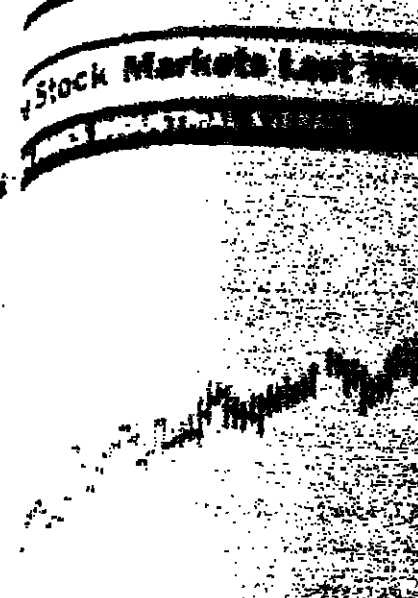
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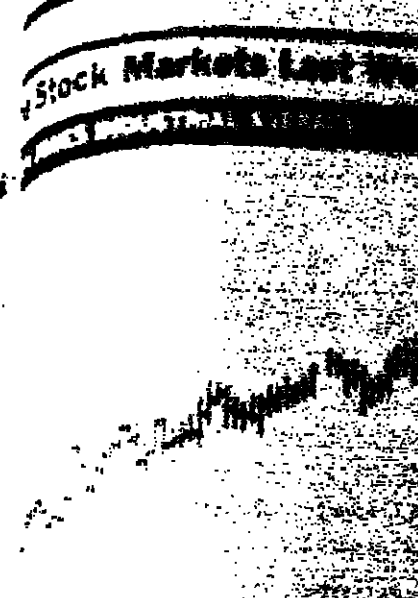
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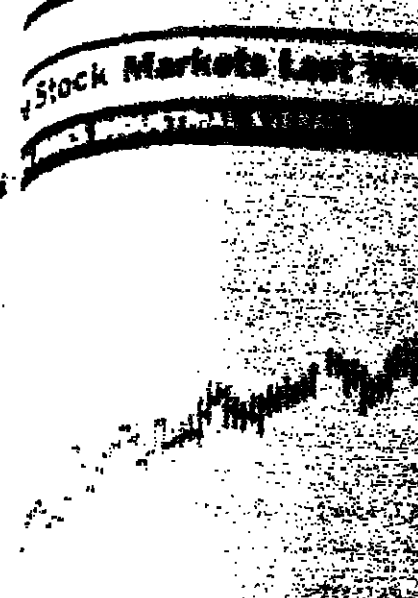
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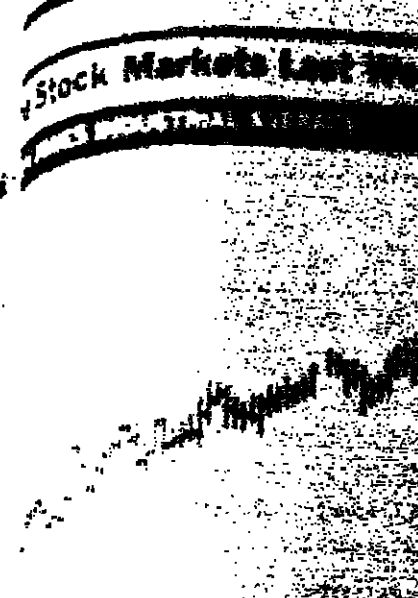
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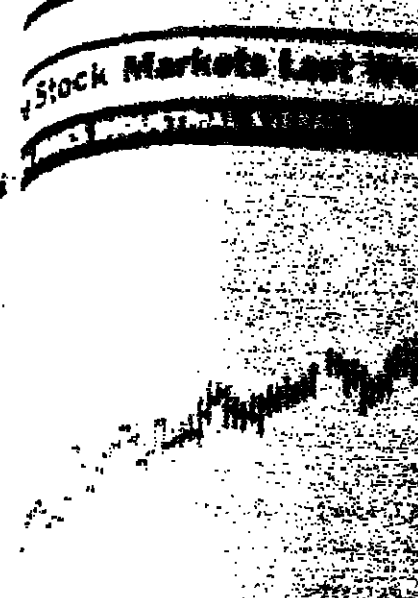
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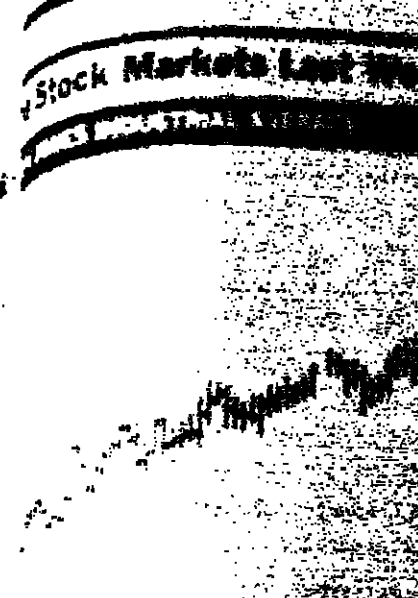
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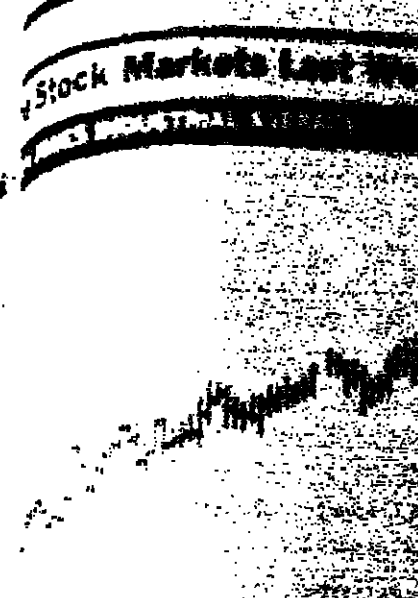
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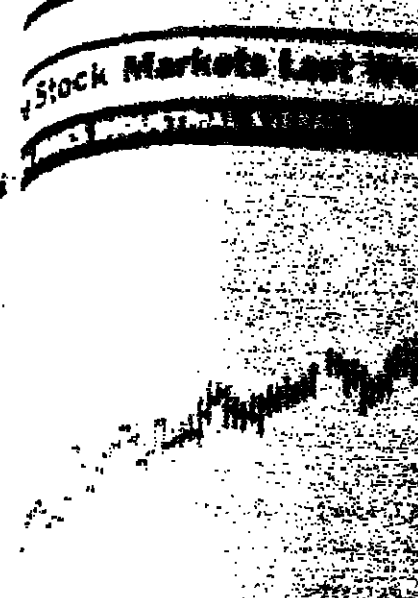
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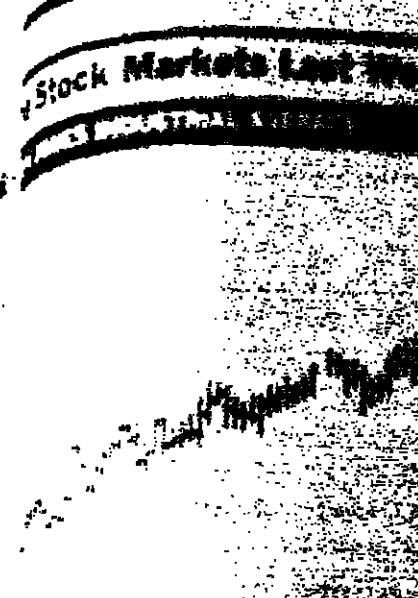
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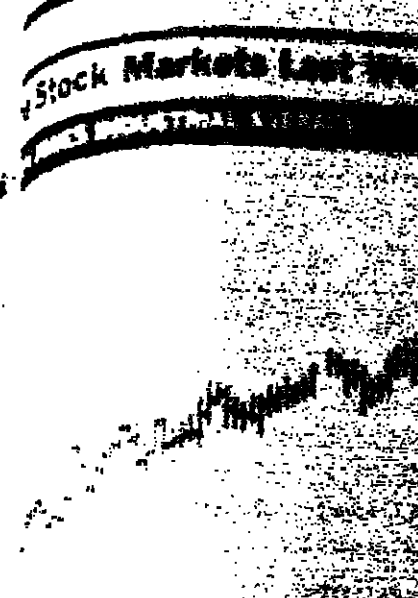
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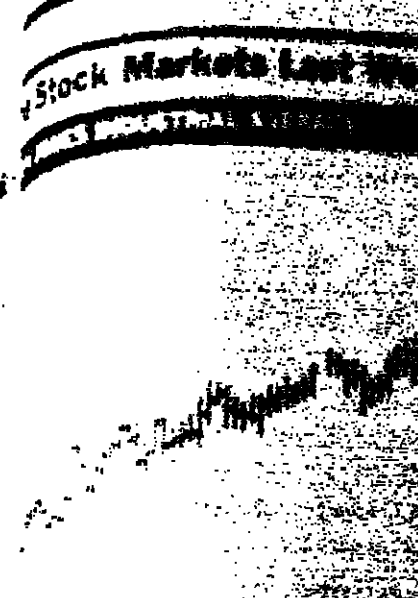
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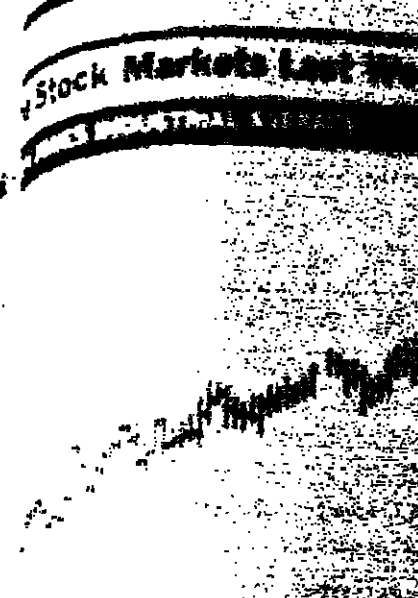
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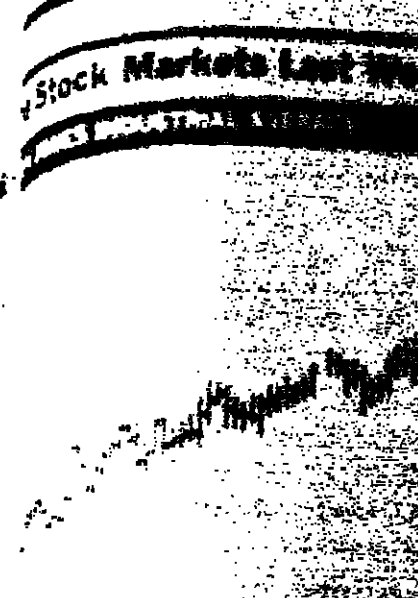
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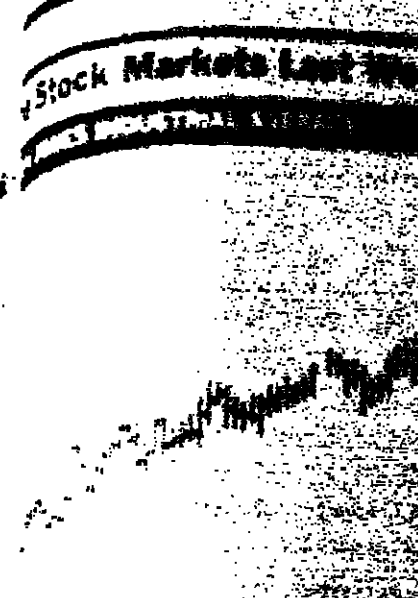
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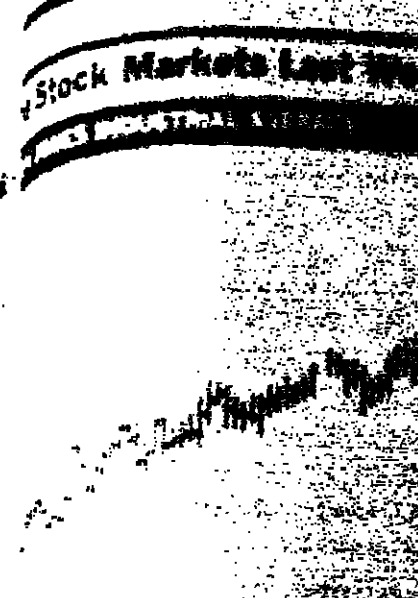
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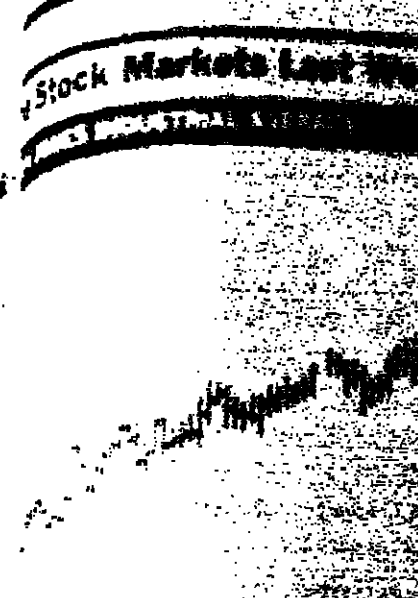
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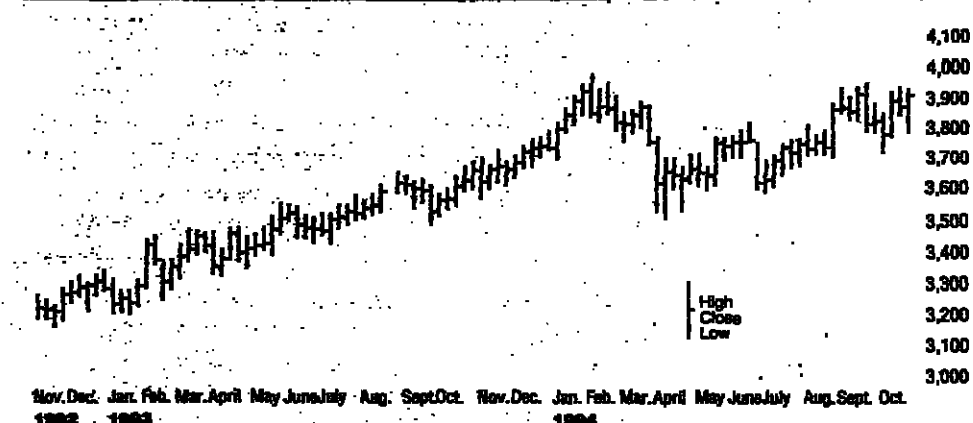
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The Stock Markets Last Week

DOW JONES INDUSTRIAL AVERAGE



MARKET DIARY

	NYSE	NASDAQ	AMEX
Advanced	1,236	2,159	346
Declined	1,426	2,276	481
Unchanged	381	933	170
Issues Traded	3,043	5,368	997
New High	122	277	27
New Low	493	242	112

MARKET INDEXES

	Close	Chg	%Chg	YTD %
D. J. Indust	3,330.66	+39.36	+1.01	+4.70
D. J. Transp	1,636.77	+36.10	+2.41	+12.80
D. J. Util	181.65	+1.98	+1.10	+20.78
S. & P. 500	473.77	+5.88	+1.24	+1.57
S. & P. Indust	562.99	+10.17	+1.84	+4.22
NYSE Comp	259.43	+3.84	+1.50	+0.14
Nasdaq	2,159.15	+10.77	+0.50	+0.08
Amer	488.16	+1.81	+0.40	+3.98
Russell 2000	255.00	+2.14	+0.85	+1.39
Value Line	4,679.39	+68.99	+1.50	+0.46
Value Line	288.28	+2.36	+0.83	+2.37

INTEREST RATES

	30-Year Bonds	Municipal Bonds	Three-Month Treasury Bills
Yield	7.88	7.97	6.21
Yr. Ago	8.00	8.08	6.40
30-Year Bonds	7.88	7.97	6.21
3-Month Treasury	5.00	4.88	3.04
Municipal Bonds	6.85	6.80	5.40

New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE				PERCENTAGE GAINERS				PERCENTAGE LOSERS			
Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.		Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.	Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.
TelMex	253741	56 1/4	- 5	PacSci	99 1/4	+ 9 1/4	30.3	ArFrt	19	- 6 1/4	25.5
GM	247739	40 1/4	- 7 1/2	PhmRes	99 1/4	+ 9 1/4	28.3	AmrEgOp n	8 1/4	- 2 1/4	21.8
FordM	209222	29 1/4	- 3 1/4	ChalHou	9 1/4	+ 1 1/4	23.0	Acopie wt	5 1/4	- 1 1/4	18.9
Sprml	209130	33	- 2 1/4	NIInd	19	+ 2 1/4	20.9	Coastl p/B	96	- 18 1/4	16.2
RJR	174488	67 1/4	- 1 1/4	AlfH	34 1/4	+ 5 1/4	19.1	StoCm	117 1/4	- 2 1/4	15.9
WestE	142553	14 1/4	- 3 1/4	NIInd	26	+ 3 1/4	17.5	Starier	6 1/4	- 1 1/4	15.5
Compq s	138916	40 1/4	- 2 1/4	GrHous	15 1/4	+ 2 1/4	17.1	NUI	15 1/4	- 2 1/4	15.3
GenEl s	127722	49 1/4	- 2	StoPac	7	+ 1	16.7	LL p/B	49	- 8 1/4	14.8
PhmR	127686	64	- 2 1/4	Hercule	117 1/4	+ 16 1/4	16.5	CCP In	16	- 2 1/4	14.1
MicToh s	119733	39 1/4	- 4	Tiffany	39 1/4	+ 5 1/4	15.0	FahSol	28 1/4	- 4 1/4	13.7
IBM	118475	76 1/4	- 1 1/4	Halbin	36 1/4	+ 4 1/4	15.0	KCSoup	16 1/4	- 2 1/4	13.2
Citip	110696	47	- 1 1/4	Marvel s	18 1/4	+ 2 1/4	14.8	AcmeE	10 1/4	- 1 1/4	12.6
Chyris	101859	47 1/4	- 2 1/4	Schw s	36 1/4	+ 4 1/4	14.7	ContMed	7	- 1	12.5
Merck	100219	36	- 1 1/2	Sellat	27 1/4	+ 3 1/4	13.9	BeezImUSA n	11 1/4	- 1 1/4	12.3
Motors s	94013	68 1/4	- 2 1/4	JenCr	7 1/4	+ 1 1/4	13.5	Vitro	21	- 2 1/4	12.0

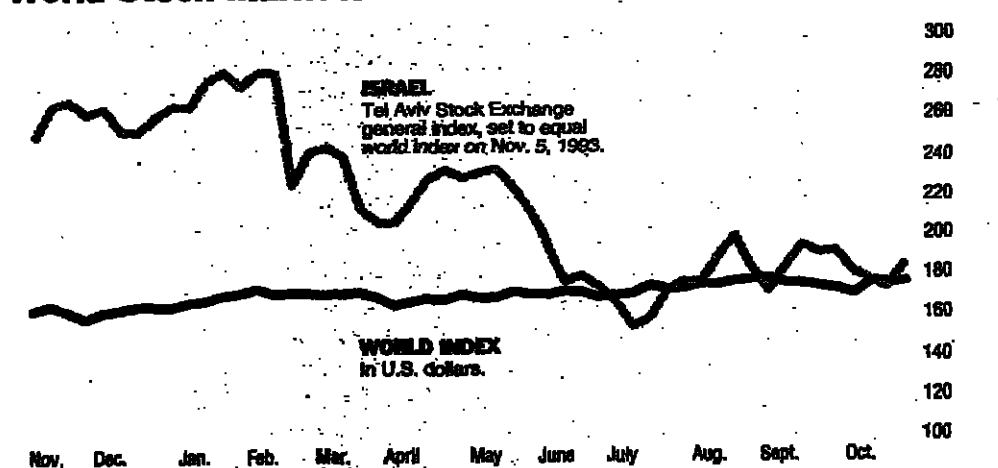
Nasdaq

MOST ACTIVE				PERCENTAGE GAINERS				PERCENTAGE LOSERS			
Vol. (00)		Last	Chg.	Last		Chg.	Pct.	Last		Chg.	Pct.
Cleas s	249050	30	+ 2 1/4	LarSgt	8	+ 2 1/4	45.5	Buffet s	10 1/4	- 5 1/4	34.1
SnapDev s	192081	14 1/4	+ 3 1/4	Progr	8	+ 2 1/4	45.5	IntNEDI	3 1/4	- 1 1/4	31.4
Micrft s	187133	62 1/4	+ 2 1/4	ConComSys w	14 1/4	+ 4	39.0	IEC Elec	10 1/4	- 4 1/4	29.5
Intel	177780	62 1/4	+ 1 1/4	NetwkrPer	26 1/4	+ 7 1/4	37.7	Ampl pf	21 1/4	- 7 1/4	25.9
MOI	175354	22 1/4	+ 3 1/4	LT	6 1/4	+ 1 1/4	33.3	AMS Ar	17 1/4	- 5 1/4	25.3
Pryds s	171745	19 1/4	+ 5 1/4	PairngTo	15 1/4	+ 4	32.7	ThreeDo	15 1/4	- 5	24.7
Novell	161823	17 1/4	+ 1 1/2	MoleDyn	7 1/4	+ 1 1/2	32.6	MFRI	5 1/4	- 1 1/4	23.7
Compwar	128457	38 1/4	+ 8	MRCVcm wt	10 1/4	+ 2 1/2	31.8	Pryds s	19 1/4	- 5 1/4	22.5
Buffet s	109050	10 1/4	+ 5 1/2	Navarre	5 1/4	+ 1 1/4	31.3	CroTch s	13 1/4	- 4	22.4
AppleC	101368	42 1/4	+ 1 1/2	SPSS	12 1/4	+ 3	30.8	Mornics	4	- 1 1/4	22.0

American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE			PERCENTAGE GAINERS			PERCENTAGE LOSERS					
Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.		Last	Chg.		Last	Chg.			
VacuumVar r	138016	1 1/4	...	AldRes	5 1/4	+ 1 1/4	25.0	GalsCbl	7 1/4	- 10 1/4	56.3
XCL	65678	1 1/4	+ 3 1/4	RBW	7 1/4	+ 1 1/2	24.0	Crowm s	4 1/4	- 2 1/4	32.7
Vacuum B	43102	38 1/4	+ 1 1/4	Diodes	6 1/4	+ 1 1/4	20.9	KIMfg	11 1/4	- 3 1/4	25.2
Amchl	33715	10 1/4	+ 5 1/4	StarFH	8 1/4	+ 1 1/4	20.4	S S Sys s	30	- 6	16.7
ChySIt s	28457	11	+ 7 1/4	KelyOG	6 1/4	+ 1	19.1	SunJr	9 1/4	- 1 1/4	14.1

World Stock Markets



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the FT Actives World Index, a measure of stock market performance. The FT Index is compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and NatWest Securities Ltd. in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and the Faculty of Actuaries. Israel data from Bloomberg Financial Markets.

PERFORMANCE		IN U.S. DOLLARS					IN LOCAL CURRENCY				
Country	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Dividend Yield	Index	YTD % Chg.	Exchange Rate to \$	YTD % Chg.	
Australia	172.12	+1.1	7	3.1	12	3.60	154.08	-5.8	1.3459	9.5	
Austria	181.32	-0.5	16	-2.0	20	1.13	142.15	-14.8	10.6175	14.8	
Belgium	169.17	-1.0	17	4.0	11	4.28	129.50	-10.7	31.04	16.5	
Britain	203.28	1.2	6	-0.9	19	4.10	185.85	-9.7	0.618	9.7	
Canada	136.58	0.1	19	0.6	18	2.54	133.50	2.5	1.3499	-1.9	
Denmark	252.29	-3.1	23	2.1	13	1.47	202.53	-11.9	5.9021	15.1	
Finland	200.12	0.7	8	62.4	1	0.73	193.36	29.1	4.604	25.8	
France	170.51	1.9	3	-3.1	21	3.14	138.19	-15.2	5.1686	14.3	
Germany	143.02	-0.4	15	2.0	14	1.84	112.23	-11.4	1.5094	15.0	
Hong Kong	580.77	0.6	9	-22.2	24	3.18	577.76	-22.2	7.7273	0.0	
Ireland	208.98	0.4	10	12.8	7	9.44	183.81	-0.7	0.6245	13.6	
Italy	78.94	2.0	2	15.1	5	1.72	81.01	3.6	1545.75	10.9	
Japan	161.58	-1.0	18	24.2	3	0.77	99.40	8.3	97.335	14.7	
Malaysia	547.46	-1.1	19	-7.5	22	1.55	538.26	-12.3	2.5529	5.5	
Mexico	2128.47	-6.2	24	-10.9	23	1.28	7882.34	-1.6	3.4333	-0.5	
Netherlands	220.32	1.8	5	10.7	9	3.40	170.04	-3.7	1.681	14.9	
New Zealand	78.01	2.9	1	11.9	6	3.71	65.57	1.7	1.6247	10.0	
Norway	204.73	-1.5	21	14.0	6	1.81	182.27	-0.6	8.5582	14.7	
Singapore	396.96	0.3	11	8.0	10	1.57	299.18	-1.2	1.4715	9.3	
South Africa	394.67	-1.5	20	25.2	2	2.17	284.33	17.5	4.025	6.6	
Spain	141.87	0.2	12	1.8	16	4.32	135.03	-10.5	125.84	13.9	
Sweden	240.31	-0.3	14	22.4	4	1.57	255.69	5.5	7.1875	16.0	
Switzerland	162.30	-1.9	22	1.3	17	1.92	126.80	-14.0	1.2802	17.8	
United States	193.37	1.9	4	1.8	15	2.82	193.37	1.8			

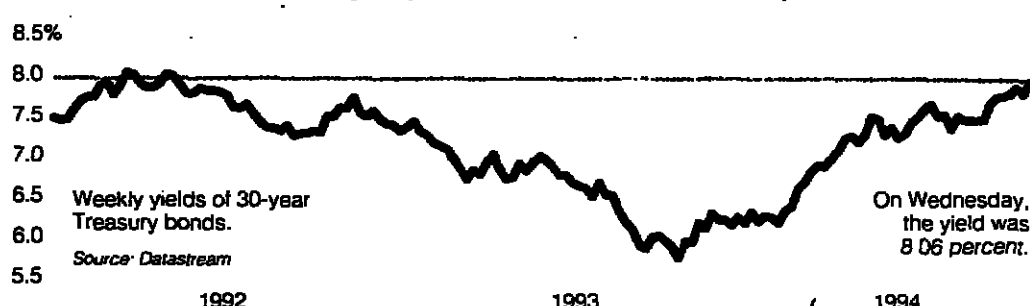
COMPOSITE INDEXES

	Index	Week	Week	YTD	Week	Week	YTD
		Chg.	Rank	% Chg.	Chg.	Rank	% Chg.
Europe	173.79	0.6	2.5	3.12	148.67	-0.3	
Europe/Pacific	172.00	-0.2	10.9	1.96	128.03	-1.9	
World	179.31	0.5	7.2	2.27	149.24	-0.4	

Sources: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close.
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The Economy

Farewell, and Hello Again, to Sub-8% Interest Rates

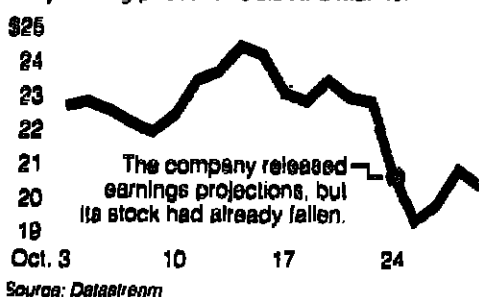


Mind you, these arbitrary barriers mean nothing. Yet it's hard to resist seeing this as a sort of official end to the Great '93-94 Interest-Rate Sale. On Monday, in a continuing reaction to inflation that never actually appears, the yield on the 30-year Treasury bond closed above 8 percent for the first time since April 1992, hitting 8.06 on Wednesday. One reason cited this time was apprehension about data due on Friday. Yet when the re-

Nice Investors Finish Last

The stock market is full of odd coincidences, the kind that give mom-and-pop investors the sneaking suspicion that they're not in the crowd. Case in point: after the market closed on Monday, Outboard Marine said its earnings would be well below estimates. Now the odd part: investors had already been selling the stock all day — the opening was delayed more than an hour by a flood of sell orders. Volume soared to more than 300,000 shares from a more typical 44,000 the previous Friday, and the price slipped more than \$2, to \$20.75. And like the 11-year-old boy standing innocently by the empty cookie jar, nobody in sight had the slightest idea what happened. It's the old moral: once you hear something, it's probably very old news.

Daily closing prices for Outboard Marine



A Guru Too Far?

Elaine Garzarelli is not your typical market guru. She wears flashy clothes, seems to revel in publicity, even appeared in pantyhose ads. Most important, in early October 1987, with most other investors still happily trooping aboard the Titanic, she saw the crash coming — and said so. That bit of clairvoyance — or (dare one say it?) luck — made her a superstar, and as Lehman's resident guru she had a huge following. And, yes, a salary to match — reportedly \$1 million to \$2 million. But last week Ms. Garzarelli "resigned" (read: "dismissed") — supposedly as part of a Lehman cost-cutting. Did she forecast this one?



Jonathan Levine/Gamma Liaison

The Other Iraq

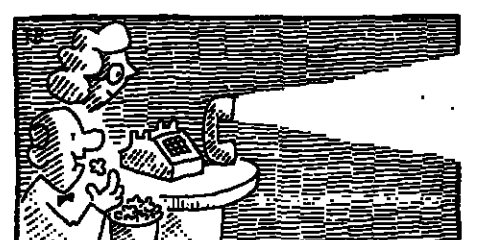


A street market in Baghdad.

The world's economic weapons have pretty poor aim. Going on the odd assumption that there is a single nation called Iraq, the United Nations has imposed a crippling embargo on that outlaw nation. But there are clearly two Iraqs — Saddam Hussein and his pals inhabiting one, everyone else the other. The first are the outlaws, but it's a safe bet that Mr. Hussein's dinner plate is full every single night. It's that second nation that's feeling the heat. The rumblings on Kuwait's border have caused the world to shine a spotlight on that other Iraq, and it's not a pretty sight — people living on \$2 a month, selling household goods just to survive.

Lights! Camera! Dial Tone!

Now look who's teaming up to bombard you with movies on demand. No, it's not the usual suspects: studios, networks, even cable companies. It's three phone companies and, yes, a talent agency. Next thing you know, the plumber, on fixing your pipes, will offer — as a package deal — to send "Forrest Gump" right to your kitchen sink. This week Bell Atlantic, Nynex and Pacific Telesis are expected to join with Michael Ovitz and his mighty Creative Artists Agency in a venture to offer programming to phone customers. And privacy buffs, be warned: part of the deal is something called "interactive marketing" — or, more bluntly, they know what you're buying, and they won't forget it.

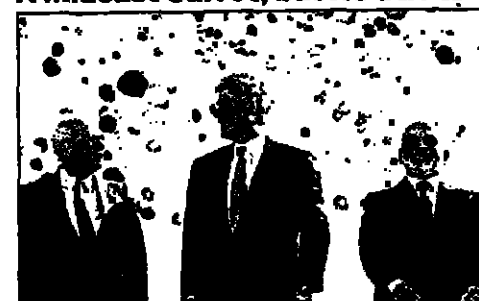


Tom Bloom

Cuba, Den of Capitalism

The United States keeps envisioning that glorious day when the Cuban masses, spurred to action by endless American embargoes, rise up against their cruel Communist dictator and declare the dawn of capitalism. Well, the inevitable change just might not arrive in such a living-color, comic-book parcel. In fact, don't look now, but Cuban Communism is already crumbling fast. A month ago, the Castro Government put farm products at the mercy of those capitalist demons supply and demand. And last week it went a step further, allowing the free sale of a variety of consumer products and industrial goods. Fidel Who?

A Mideast Carrot, but No Sticks



Much of the world's tension really comes down to economics. If the cupboard is bare, you don't want to blame yourself, so you shoot someone. Recognizing this, President Clinton offered a carrot last week in the Mideast — but warned that the sticks must be laid aside. Right after witnessing Israel's peace with Jordan, he vowed to promote economic development across the region and to take a leading role in setting up a Middle East Development Bank to finance local projects. Among other things, he said the Overseas Development Investment Corporation would provide \$78 million to promote private investment, mainly in Jordan. But in the next breath he warned that all could be jeopardized by violence. "It is the age-old struggle between fear and hope," he said.

Between Calculating Adults

When it comes to risk, though, are all investors created equal — or equally vulnerable? Should giant corporations be a little more savvy than the little guy? Last week Procter & Gamble in effect said no: by suing Bankers Trust because it lost a bundle on derivatives, P & G was insisting that it, too, should not suffer because it got bad advice. Though Bankers Trust denies it, P & G insists that the bank assured it that its losses could be limited if interest rates turned volatile — though when rates did turn it lost over \$100 million. But the point is, at what point does an investor become a grown-up, with a responsibility to calculate the risk itself?

Cash for Ziff-Davis

You might think that if a publishing giant was for sale, it would only make sense for a publishing company to buy it. But don't tell that to Forstmann Little, which last week — with no publishing experience — agreed to pay \$1.4 billion for Ziff-Davis Publishing. In cash. Forstmann, a surprise bidder, has been buying all sorts of things since its birth in 1978 — like Gulfstream, which makes private jets. And now Ziff-Davis, which with titles like PC Magazine and PC Week is the nation's most successful computer publisher. Its chairman, William B. Ziff Jr., retired last year, and his sons had different plans for their lives. Which they can now well afford.

World Markets/Paul Lewis

In Israel, a Ho-Hum Response to Peace

PEACE doves have fluttered around the Middle East all year, but Israel's Tel Aviv stock exchange is no longer paying much attention.

After Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Yasir Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, shook hands on the White House lawn last September, Israeli share prices shot up, having more than doubled the previous two years.

The hope was that the expanding peace in the Middle East would free Israel's military resources for civilian use, buoy trade and draw a wave of foreign investment into a country that could look forward to more normal relations with its Arab neighbors.

But by early this year investors realized that such a peace dividend would not appear as soon as expected. And that, combined with disappointing domestic economic news, a spate of financial scandals and the news that capital gains would be taxed beginning next year, sent the market tumbling. Only in the last few months have share prices begun to rebound.

The main market index, the Mishkanim, based on the 100 most actively traded securities, climbed from 191 in February of last year to more than 250 in January 1994, before plummeting below 160 last June. On Thursday, the market closed at 188, up only 1.19 percent over the previous day when Israel signed its peace treaty with Jordan, and still down by 29.88 percent for the year.

It's much the same story on Tel Aviv's other two indexes — the Maof, which is based on the 25 stocks with the largest market capitalization, and the Karam, which measures the performance of smaller companies.

When it became clear that the peace accord last September would not produce an instant boom, the stock market had to face the fact the Israeli Government's macro-economic policy

The New York Times

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Governor Cuomo, Beyond a Doubt

Mario Cuomo seems always to have been a creature of expectations — his own and those that others have conferred upon him. Ever since his incandescent speech to the 1984 Democratic National Convention, people have spoken of him in terms of what "could be" and, later, of what "might have been." He might have been President of the United States. He surely could have been a justice of the Supreme Court. Although it is not too late for the Court, there seems only one certain way for him to claim an exalted place in the history books. That is to have a memorably successful fourth term.

This newspaper thinks he can do that. We not only recommend his re-election; we urge it as essential to New York's progress. We are mindful of his shortcomings and we are sometimes annoyed by the gap between the Cuomo rhetoric and the Cuomo reality. It is also true that New York has lagged behind a nationwide economic recovery. We nevertheless believe that Mr. Cuomo towers above his opponents. His intellect is formidable, his values sound, his understanding of the state's complex needs and opportunities unmatched.

In addition to Mr. Cuomo's clear advantage in leadership capacity, there is another overarching reason for a fourth term. This election is as much about the future of the city as it is about the state as a whole. As Mayor Rudolph Giuliani observed in explaining his decision to endorse Mr. Cuomo over a fellow Republican, George Pataki, the Governor is certain to be far more sympathetic to the city's huge burdens than Mr. Pataki or the Independence Fusion Party candidate, B. Thomas Golisano.

Mr. Pataki is no slouch. He is the first plausible, serious Republican contender since Lewis Lehrman, the man Mr. Cuomo beat in his first gubernatorial race in 1982. He and Mr. Golisano, a self-made businessman, both believe that New York suffers from an inefficient government. Their diagnosis of the state's ills contains a lot of uncomfortable truths, some of which Mr. Cuomo concedes.

Mr. Pataki's prescriptions, however, are simplistic and alarmingly indifferent to the needs of the cities, especially New York. Mr. Cuomo puts it bluntly and Mr. Giuliani agrees: "If you cut \$7 billion out of the state budget, you kill the city." Mr. Pataki is a member of that large and growing army of manipulative politicians wheedling votes with the seductive message that the only things standing between us and happiness are criminals and high taxes. Ergo: fry the criminals, lower the taxes.

Even if this page could ignore Mr. Pataki's relentless campaign for the death penalty — something Mr. Cuomo has courageously opposed at considerable political cost — it cannot buy his economic program. He proposes to cut taxes by 25 percent over four years and pay for those cuts through what he confidently describes as normal revenue growth and painless belt-tightening in programs like welfare and Medicaid.

Most economists, not to mention Mr. Giuliani, think this is poppycock. What Mr. Pataki proposes will not really cut the overall tax burden. It will shift the cost of essential services to cities and counties and require them to levy new taxes to pay for them. Mr. Giuliani recognized the trickery of the Pataki plan, and so should every responsible voter.

Caught!

"This was not a case of cheap labor," Arianna Huffington told reporters. "This is a case of a family falling in love with another human being..." Ms. Huffington is, of course, the wife of California's Republican Senate candidate, Michael Huffington, who has made getting tough with illegal aliens his battle cry. The human being referred to is the family's former nanny — herself an illegal alien.

Seldom do politics offer up such sweet moments. The unmasking of monumental hypocrisy is always a wonderful present to the public, and Mr. Huffington's exposure for employing an illegal alien while making his name as an alien-alarmist deserves some kind of award in the annals of campaign duplicity.

Proposition 187, the divisive ballot initiative designed to deprive illegal immigrants in California

of services and make enforcers out of health workers and school officials, has been central to Mr. Huffington's campaign. It is a dangerous piece of demagoguery, probably unconstitutional. Voters can now see that the cruel ideas behind his rhetoric flitted so lightly through Mr. Huffington's brain that he could not apply them to his own household.

This has been a year of political campaigns devoid of real content, driven by tactics rather than any sense of elevating conviction. In the current crop of empty candidacies, Mr. Huffington's has been the emptiest of the lot, grasping at the immigration issue to fill a yawning void in thought.

California's voters have reason to relegate both Mr. Huffington and Proposition 187 to the obscurity they so richly — and in Mr. Huffington's case, hilariously — deserve.

Mr. Pataki's statewide experience is limited and that raises the question of how he got where he is. The answer is not pleasant. He is the political creation of Senator Alfonse D'Amato. The Senator stage-managed his nomination, raised his campaign funds and provided his staff. Mr. D'Amato has gone into hiding now because he was dragging his protégé down in the polls. But knowledgeable Republicans know that a vote for Mr. Pataki is a vote for the D'Amato machine. That is why moderate Republicans like State Senator Ralph Marino are keeping Mr. Pataki at arm's length. He is not, to use the Mayor's cutting phrase, "his own man."

As all three candidates have acknowledged, New Yorkers are overtaxed and overregulated. Despite Mr. Cuomo's largely uncelebrated efforts to ease the tax burden and cut red tape, New York's combined state and local tax burden is the nation's heaviest after Alaska. The government bureaucracy is shamefully bloated. New businesses do not want to come here and a lot of old businesses want to leave. The economic turnaround that saw the nation as a whole gain 5.5 million jobs also saw New York lose jobs.

Mr. Pataki's fiscal shell game is not the answer to these problems. Still, there is a huge task ahead and what that task will require is total commitment. For Mr. Cuomo, that means the days of playing Hamlet on the Hudson must end. He must swear off his reflexive tendency to attribute New York's ills to an obdurate State Senate, a stubborn economy, Reaganomics, crack and AIDS and heaven only knows what else. He will have to complain less and work harder at the nitty-gritty of government if he seriously wishes to be remembered as being as good at governing as he is at campaigning.

This contest has already been a humbling experience for Mr. Cuomo. At the very least it should have taught him that what New Yorkers really want — indeed desperately need — are results. That involves a level of risk-taking that Mario Cuomo has not so far achieved but which we firmly believe he is capable of reaching if he can muster the legislative concentration and stamina to match his intelligence and compassion.

This brings us to the unique resource that Mr. Cuomo represents for New York and the nation. His critics have tried to depict him as liberalism's last buffalo. Indeed, Mr. Cuomo's skills as a communicator make him an easy target when his achievements fail to live up to the promise of his rhetoric. But the fact is that Mr. Cuomo's compassion, his good heart and hard head, his rootedness in our forebears' struggle against poverty and ignorance are values that government needs.

New York voters have a unique opportunity to weld Mr. Cuomo's lofty ambitions to practical politics. His re-election will create a powerful Cuomo-Giuliani axis that will strengthen government in New York City and Albany. These two men have made a public compact to work together. Given the chance, they can create a mold-breaking bipartisan partnership that invigorates New York while it helps American politics through a poisonous period.

As a matter of practicality, philosophy and, yes, passion for good government, Mario Cuomo deserves re-election. He is the class of the field.

Balzac on the Bus

"Anybody here his wife? He's looking for his wife." A pink-cheeked, white-haired man was pacing the sidewalk. Maybe his wife was on the downtown tour bus. This was the uptown tour bus, destined for the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, Grant's Tomb, Harlem and what the guide called "Millionaire's Row." Oh, yes, the guide. Call him Balzac. Because traveling Manhattan's streets with him was like dipping into "La Comédie Humaine" and its vast cast of human creatures.

So it seemed to one passenger, a New Yorker who spent a sun-struck afternoon seeing the town through a tourist's eyes. What she saw most clearly were Manhattan's people, all of them summoned by the Balzac at the front of the bus.

"Nobody's sitting on a fire escape singing 'Maria, Maria' up here anymore," he said as the bus traveled Amsterdam Avenue. "Now we're talking sushi bars and Mexican restaurants and yuppies." On Central Park West the yuppies give way to the stars. Bernstein, Nureyev, Lennon, Bacall, Pacino, Keaton, Farrow, Pavarotti, Madonna have all lived on this stretch — and a lot of them still do.

"But you never know with Madonna," Balzac observes. The passengers nod sagely. You never do know with Madonna.

Moving north, General and Mrs. Grant are entombed on the left and one of the Mr. Rockefellers is celebrated by Riverside Chapel; up on the right stone carvers are chipping away at the facade of St. John the Divine. Some job, right?

East of here is Harlem, once home to Bill (Bojangles) Robinson and Lena Horne. "See over there? That's Malcolm X's temple. And across the street? That's where Rudy put the vendors."

Now the bus is on Fifth Avenue, Millionaire's Row. On the soccer field are "the children of your Astors, your Whitneys, your Paleys kicking the ball with the headmasters of their private schools." The women pushing baby carriages are not mothers, but "women from the Caribbean, Scotland and Ireland hired to raise the children of the rich."

One by one they got on the bus, the rich and the famous, the poor and the nameless, the yuppies and land speculators — characters in the blockbuster of a novel that is and always has been New York.

Today's Art Merges Object and Criticism

To the Editor:

"The Jabberwocky of Art Criticism" (The Week in Review, Oct. 23) makes a few good points but misses the main thrust of contemporary art criticism, or rather what has been revealed again in the last few decades about what art is.

The McEvilley-Rubin exchange, which you describe, appeared more accessible than other criticism because it lent itself to explaining art objects that themselves appeared discrete, namely a few African pieces of the type Picasso and Braque had seen in 1907. Anyone thinking that exchange was important liked it because it was easy. My thought is, however, that as soon as Picasso and Braque "appropriated" the African pieces, the work of art became the totality of the pieces, the Picasso and Braque appropriation and the criticism it engendered.

Helmut Federle's painting and the quotations from Artforum in your article about that work form an entity just as cogent, understandable and exciting as the McEvilley-Rubin exchange, but they concern a type of work with all the complexity of the African pieces but not so well known. The problem is largely one of lack of familiarity with the work, the language of the critic and the culture from which both derive. They are as unfamiliar as "primitive art" in the early years of the century.

The point is that more so than ever today the work is an entity consisting of the painting or sculpture and the discourse, whether in print or in the gallery or coffeehouse, that weaves in and out of it. The object, whether it be a Nauman animal merry-go-round or steel stuck in the ground by Richard Serra, and the Artforum articles about them are, as Heidegger might have said, modes of being of the same entity or, if you will, different states of the same being.

In the last year I have stood before a Mayan temple and the restored Michelangelo "Last Judgment." Both are more impenetrable than a Lawrence Weiner or a Hannah Darboven because the discourse that was a part of them has been stilled. Thinking about art as random confrontations with discrete paintings or objects standing preciously alone in the world is as dead and buried as

Berenson. To continue to think about criticism that way, when objects and signs including artworks have merged into the stream of information, restricts art to a branch of interior decorating.

There is nothing wrong with Federle or the writing in Artforum. The problem, as always, is with the bourgeoisie that chuckled over the article. They need to pick up the pace a bit.

THEMISTOCLES G. MICHOS
Woodside, Calif., Oct. 23, 1994

The writer is a collector of contemporary art.

Back to the Future

To the Editor:

Re "The Jabberwocky of Art Criticism" (Week in Review, Oct. 23):

Bravo! The logical conclusion of much of 20th-century art that eliminates subject matter, technical skills and emotional content is the elimination of the need for an art critic. Writing about Helmut Federle's abstract composition would be like asking a theater critic to write about an empty stage. You can do it once, but not after night?

Fortunately, in our contemporary theater we still have narration, actors with traditional skills and hu-



man emotional content, and hence excellent contemporary criticism.

There is hope for the art critic. Downtown in SoHo there is a new school, the New York Academy of Art, founded by Andy Warhol and others, where artists like Jack Beal and Eric Fischl talk about content,

and a 40-hour-per-week technical training curriculum teaches young artists the skills Picasso had as a youth: traditional painting, drawing, sculpting and anatomy skills to render the human figure from the imagination.

This radical "back to the future" movement has in five years become the largest graduate-level art school in the country, and soon may give art critics something concrete to write about.

GREGORY HEDBERG
New York, Oct. 25, 1994

The writer is a former director of the New York Academy of Art.

No Shrinking Critic

To the Editor:

In "The Jabberwocky of Art Criticism" (Week in Review, Oct. 23), you quote a review I wrote for Art in America as an example of "struggling for kind words" in order not "to alienate artists and gallery owners with negative reviews."

Actually, my editor has specifically encouraged me to feel free to write negatively. Just yesterday a SoHo art dealer good-humoredly asked me why I'd hated one of her artist's shows so much. But most tellingly, you misinterpret my response to the Millie Wilson show, from which you quote.

You say you want clear judgments, but what if humanity itself seems to have become "bad," an out-of-control disease killing a festering earth, and one artist is making objects that coolly embody the worst emotional inversions? Calling such nihilism "bad" would sound like faint praise.

You say that the closest I came to judgment was my ambiguous phrase "quintessentially of the 90's." But how about my "ridiculously revulsive fetishism," or my "campy pop icons for the Wiggstock generation," from the same review? You don't recognize judgments that aren't "good," "bad" or similarly one-dimensional.

Much of the most provocative criticism I've read recently is in exhibition catalogues. But where else but in the art magazines will one learn about such great artists as Tom Otterness, Hope Sandrow or Raghubir Singh?

P. C. SMITH
New York, Oct. 23, 1994

Putting Eye Surgery Into Sharper Focus

To the Editor:

There appears to be a lot of confusion in the coverage you and other news media gave to refractive surgery, to correct for nearsightedness and astigmatism and alleviate the need for glasses and contacts ("Experts Back Laser Surgery on Nearsighted," news article, Oct. 23).

The excimer laser is not some kind of magic; the anterior one-fourth to one-third of the cornea — the eye's window to the world — is literally being pulverized away by the laser. This method of removing tissues was used for the first time on a human being's eye only five years ago. We still do not and will not know the long-term effects of this procedure for 20 years.

By contrast, radial keratotomy, which involves only very fine incisions in the periphery of the cornea (not touching the center through which an image enters the eye), has been found to be safe and effective and has been around for 25 years, with more than a million procedures in the United States alone.

Another area of confusion appears to be presbyopia — a condition of aging that affects all eyes and presents itself in the mid-40's as difficulty with reading. It is only normal that following a refractive procedure such as the excimer laser or radial keratotomy one would need reading glasses in the mid-40's.

In summary: The laser is not magic, radial keratotomy is proven and available now to those who are good candidates, and presbyopia will put a pair of spectacles on all of us.

LIVIU B. SAIMOVICI, M.D.
New York, Oct. 24, 1994

Campaign Finance Is Key Single Issue

To the Editor:

If there was ever a single-issue election, this is it. Voters are fed up with the Government, with good reason, and the most popular sentiment is to throw the bums out. Unfortunately it won't help, because the corrosive influence of special-interest money will remain. We'll just have new bums.

If voters want a single issue, try campaign finance reform. Vote only for people who promise it or who already have a record of supporting it. In reality, it is more than a single issue, because it touches everything Congress does, from health care reform to gun control.

It is also bipartisan: Republicans have been generally terrible, but we should not forget the many Democrats who bravely voted for strong reform only when they knew there would be a veto from Presidents Reagan or Bush. Clean up Congress?

A Trial Alternative For O. J. Simpson

To the Editor:

O. J. Simpson's lawyers have been claiming that their client cannot receive a fair trial because of the impossibility of picking an impartial jury. They do have an alternative: trial by judge.

The Constitution guarantees the right to a jury trial, but does not require it. Mr. Simpson retains the option of having the judge decide his guilt or innocence. Presumably a jurist can disregard excluded evidence and ignore media coverage of the case.

SHAUN BREIDBART
Pelham, N.Y., Oct. 24, 1994

It's campaign finance reform, stupid.
KEVIN JON WILLIAMS
Wynnewood, Pa., Oct. 24, 1994

Voters Target Liberals

To the Editor:

It's remarkable how this election is being cast as an anti-incumbent movement when so many incumbents across the country are doing quite well in their polls. From Massachusetts to California, governors, senators and representatives seem set to win re-election.

No, it's not incumbents who are in trouble, it's liberal incumbents. The mood in this country is anti-liberal, and liberals, incumbents or challengers, are feeling that heat. This is despite the fact that President Clinton has done so much to show that government can work for the people.

RONALD G. ORNER
Wellesley, Mass., Oct. 23, 1994

Iraq Has M.I.A.'s Too

To the Editor:

For more than 20 years the United States held accounting for its missing in action in the Vietnam War as a condition for resuming business in Vietnam — as long as it took for us to acknowledge that the Vietnamese also lacked news of their M.I.A.'s.

So too, accounting for the 609 Kuwaitis missing since the Persian Gulf war has become a condition for lifting economic sanctions against Iraq. Must Iraqis suffer for 20 more years before the United States acknowledges the thousands of Iraqi M.I.A.'s? In war, the innocent suffer on both sides.

SUZU T. KANE
Bedford Hills, N.Y., Oct. 23, 1994

Hungary Should Speed Return of Jews' Assets Looted by Nazis

To the Editor:

Permit me to add some background information to "A Long Battle to Recover Jewish Assets" (news article, Oct. 23).

At a conference held in Paris in November through December 1945, the victorious Allies discussed with invited representatives of Eastern European countries how to dispose of the sizable German loot worth billions of dollars discovered in salt mines, bunkers and castles.

Some of the loot was found on the so-called Salzburg Gold Train — 24 freight cars filled with hundreds of crates of gold bullion and gold coins, loads of Western currency, jewelry, silverware, hundreds of paintings, 5,000 valuable rugs, cases of wedding rings and melted gold teeth from the millions of Jewish victims killed in the death camps.

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. We regret that we cannot acknowledge or return unpublished letters. Those published may be shortened for space reasons.

The American delegation had suggested the assets be used for the rehabilitation and welfare of the Jewish survivors. However, since no Jewish state existed at that time, the American officials, who believed that the camp survivors would be returned to their countries of origin, entrusted the assets to Eastern European governments for disbursement. But these countries kept the property while the survivors were held in displaced-persons camps in

Germany and Austria in dire need.

A major portion of the stolen goods originated in Hungary. It included 88 sacks of precious metals, 630 kilograms of "worn" gold objects, 12 kilos of diamonds of more than three karats, 65 kilos of diamond-mounted jewelry, and more.

You cite Prime Minister Gyula Horn of Hungary as urging "patience" because of Government constraints. It is the height of hypocrisy on the part of the former Communist leaders to ask for patience — nearly 50 years after the war — or to say that the return of Jewish assets will exacerbate anti-Semitism.

And it is not fair for the timid World Jewish Congress negotiators to decide that private claimants are of "secondary importance." Such a qualification is a disservice to the aging survivors. They cannot wait much longer with their hopes for a measure of material comfort in their waning years.

ALFRED LIPSON
Bayside, Queens, Oct. 24, 1994

The writer is senior researcher, Holocaust Resource Center and Archives, Queensborough Community College, CUNY.

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In America

BOB HERBERT

The Tax Cut Con

There are at least two reasons why all New Yorkers should be thankful for Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's endorsement of Gov. Mario Cuomo.

First, it provided a jolt of excitement and entertainment to a campaign that had spread an epidemic of yawning from Buffalo to Brighton Beach.

Second, it drove Al D'Amato into hiding, which is a plus for all concerned.

But overshadowed by the attention paid to the endorsement is the crushing new round of budget cuts that New York City is about to endure — real cuts that will hurt real people. Across the country, cynical politicians (Republicans and, increasingly, Democrats) are hooting and hollering about tax cuts. It's the easiest of the many ways to con citizens out of their votes. Meanwhile, governments at all levels are finding it more and more difficult to come up with the money to provide even the most basic of services.

What's happening at City Hall in New York is dramatic. Faced with yet another billion-dollar-plus deficit, Mayor Giuliani has proposed a drastic new set of spending cuts that will reduce services across the board, and will especially hurt the poor and the young.

(Tax-cut advocates would no doubt applaud; part of their strategy is to spread the canard that the poor and the young — especially the big-city young — are getting much too much as it is.)

The schools in New York are due to take the biggest hit in the newest round of cuts. Mayor Giuliani wants \$190 million worth of reductions from the Board of Education.

"We think it's going to be pretty bad," said Sandra Feldman, president of the United Federation of Teachers. "We already took a \$358 million cut this year, and that's on top of more than a billion in cuts over the past four years."

New York schools are already hurting. Some are in very deep trouble. Try teaching an American histo-

Just another way to buy a vote.

ry class with books that say Lyndon Johnson is President. Try running a science lab in which the gas jets don't work and the water doesn't run.

"I have a niece in a very good junior high school in Brooklyn," said Ms. Feldman, "but there were 38 kids in her math class and she had to work on a radiator because there wasn't a desk for her."

The politicians who blithely promise tax cuts never explain the real-life impact of a squeeze in government services. So when State Senator George Pataki is touting his plan to cut state taxes by \$5.6 billion over four years, he doesn't bother to explain that the Mayor of New York is already trying to raise the cost of school lunches and phase out money for soup kitchens.

It's not just Mr. Pataki, of course. He's a late-comer to the game, parroting a script that has its greatest success in the mouth of Ronald Reagan. Now, like a stale sitcom formula, the tax-cut scenario is everywhere. Christine Todd Whitman rode the formula right into the Statehouse in New Jersey. But in less than a year she's had to scale back her tax-cut promises. And, as property taxes in New Jersey continue to soar, local officials are scrambling to find ways to cut their budgets even further.

It's hard to believe the voters keep falling for the tax-cut con. The Republicans have trotted it out nationally once again, this time with the so-called "Contract With America." The "contract" amounts to a preposterous claim by G.O.P. Congressional candidates (led by Newt Gingrich) that they can cut taxes, increase defense spending and balance the Federal budget.

Haven't we heard that fantasy before?

For all of his difficulties in his first two years in office, President Clinton has had great success in reducing the budget deficit. Last week it was reported at \$203 billion, down from \$255 billion in fiscal 1993. Does anyone really want the Federal Government to launch another Reagan-like spree that will drive the deficit to absurd new heights?

Ronald Reagan lost control of the Federal Government's finances. Bill Clinton regained control. But lessons in discipline are not easily learned. And so we have the irony of a Republican Mayor of New York dishing out pain and struggling to balance his budget while his party carries the message of fiscal irresponsibility to most of the rest of America. □



Beleaguered Are the Peacekeepers

By Boutros Boutros-Ghali

As the United Nations, founded in 1945, prepares for the transition from its first half century to its second, it is undergoing a profound intellectual and political transformation.

History shows that those living in a revolution are often unaware of the dimensions of the changes taking place around them. Today, the U.N. does not have the time to await history's assessment; we must sort out the new concepts and changes as they unfold.

We are witnessing a dramatic alteration in the threat to international peace and security. As globalization transforms economic relations, the link between worldwide development and international peace grows stronger. For the U.N., this has meant a renewed commitment to development as our primary task. But it is in peacekeeping where immediate concerns have arisen.

The U.N. invented peacekeeping. The tasks it now undertakes far transcend peacekeeping in its original sense. For most of the U.N.'s history, peacekeeping has been a clear and simple concept. Member States have provided troops to serve under the Secretary-General. All parties to a conflict have welcomed them. The mission has been to help keep an agreed cease-fire and thus to keep the peace. Confrontation has not been expected.

Peacekeeping today has become far more complicated. In the past four years, the U.N. has been called to more peacekeeping operations than in the previous 44 years. Some

Boutros Boutros-Ghali is Secretary General of the United Nations.

70,000 civilian and military personnel are now serving in 17 operations across the world. Peacekeeping expenditures have more than doubled in just two years, to \$3.3 billion this year. The demand for operations, the number of personnel, the budgets involved — all are of vastly greater magnitude.

Today's peacekeeping involves new situations and new tasks. Peacekeepers have been sent to areas where there are no agreements, where consent to a U.N. presence is sporadic and where governments do not exist or have limited effective authority. And peacekeeping is more than just keeping apart the warring parties. It may be aimed at protect-

combinations, often undertaken by multiple actors. The U.N. is working out the difficulties case by case.

Today's first major challenge is command and coordination. In today's dangerous settings, member states and regional organizations have been cautious about placing their forces solely under U.N. command. But unity of command is essential. Nothing can lower the risk in the field like working together — and nothing can increase it like the failure to do so. For a U.N. operation to proceed safely and effectively, it must coherently orchestrate civil, humanitarian and political efforts, under the protection of a unified military force.

The second challenge is simultaneously fielding successful multiple operations by multiple actors. In Bosnia, the Security Council has mandated peacemaking, which means negotiation, as well as peacekeeping. Too often in the past three years there has been little peace to keep, but both these concepts can work effectively at the same time. If, however, peace enforcement were added to the mix, the other efforts would be undercut and the entire mission endangered. Realistically, no operation can use force in one part of the theater of conflict while serving as a neutral humanitarian mission and impartial partner to agreements in another.

The third challenge is the changing nature of conflict. Today, conflicts and confrontations inside state borders are more prevalent than interstate wars. But the U.N. cannot and should not intervene on behalf of every troubled nation. Not only are its resources limited, the Charter explicitly prohibits it from intervening in matters essentially in the domestic jurisdiction of a state.

Yet under certain circumstances, the Security Council can authorize

action to address a local conflict: when a state requests it, as in Cambodia; when all semblance of state authority vanishes, as in Somalia; and when whole populations are singled out for genocide, as in Rwanda.

Under such conditions, the Security Council is not intervening in internal affairs. Rather, it is acting, under the Charter, to maintain international peace and security. This means that the U.N. needs to build greater understanding of the limited circumstances under which such action is undertaken.

The fourth challenge is the new regionalism. Regional entities can enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of U.N. efforts for peace.

Their involvement with the U.N. would further democratize the international system. But the very features that make regional entities effective may also make regional involvement seem threatening. Those close to a problem and well equipped to handle it may also be too close to its living historical associations: in short, regional involvement may raise the old fears of regional hegemony and intervention.

The methods of U.N.-regional cooperation must be improved. We must take care that new regionalism does not become an alternative to multilateralism. The resurgence of spheres of influence and resultant rekindling of old regional hostilities would deal a serious blow to collective security.

There are signs that the system of collective security established in San Francisco nearly 50 years ago is finally beginning to work as conceived and that it is proving able to respond flexibly to new challenges. We are on the way to achieving a workable international system. □

Finally, the U.N. is doing what it was born to do.

ing vulnerable populations, delivering humanitarian relief or responding to the collapse of a state. It may entail restoring democracy or building a foundation for national recovery. Often these tasks must go on at the same time, in the same theater of operations.

These changes require greater involvement of regional organizations and arrangements. Such groups can help ease the financial and material burdens placed on the U.N. They can provide special insights into conflict in their regions and can sometimes respond more quickly militarily.

In this second generation of peacekeeping, there are no easy solutions. Each operation is different. Each requires new concepts, in different

Journal

FRANK RICH

The Final Curtain?

You know Broadway is dead as a showcase for American drama when a) there are no new plays running there; b) Neil Simon announces he would rather be in Greenwich Village; c) New York's Attorney General is closing in on its box offices; or d) the theater industry's leaders are fighting in public, like passengers on the Titanic shoving each other out of the lifeboats.

The answer is, e) all of the above.

Right now, Broadway is down to two plays — the sadly inexorable result of production costs so high that only musical spectacles with huge audiences can afford them. Facing this reality, Mr. Simon, the street's most commercially successful writer for 30 years, is defecting with his newest comedy to a small theater Off Broadway. Attorney General G. Oliver Koppell, meanwhile, plans to finish out his term with a bang: his full-speed-ahead

Bullets over Broadway.

ticket-scalping investigation may soon explain why the public can never buy good seats for the few shows that are running. And Emanuel Azenberg, Mr. Simon's producer, told a Times reporter he had declared "war" on Gerald Schoenfeld of the Shubert Organization, the all-powerful Broadway landlord.

Should Mr. Simon put all these doings in a farce, he might have his biggest hit since "The Odd Couple."

But that's precisely the problem. It is no longer possible to have a cat-chandelier-free hit on Broadway — a non-musical play that makes a profit for its investors — because the investment cannot be recouped, no matter how astronomical the ticket price. Even "Angels in America," the most acclaimed drama of the last decade, will be in the red when it closes early next year, according to one of its producers, despite a 20-month Broadway run that "Long Day's Journey into Night" would have envied.

Only lunatics would produce plays on a street where "Angels" fears to tread. Which is not to say that good plays disappear: When Mr. Simon goes Off Broadway, he'll find Edward Albee, Sam Shepard and Terrence McNally among his neighbors. But some of the most beautiful theaters in the world — all of them perfect for intimate dramas by such writers — are on the brink of permanent obsolescence. No sooner has the long-defunct 42d Street reached the brink of redevelopment — Disney's renovation of the New Amsterdam Theater should start this spring — than the other theatrical blocks just to its north are going dark.

This is both an urban and cultural crisis. Yet the Broadway establishment's response is to deny that anything is wrong. Mr. Schoenfeld told Donald McNeil of The Times "a lot of producers" are bringing plays to Broadway, though he could only come up with a tiny list of mostly British imports.

In private, almost any major player in the theater will say the truth: Not only has the curtain fallen on the Broadway play, but nothing short of a complete overhaul of Broadway business practices from ground zero will bring it back. Mr. Azenberg unfairly blamed Mr. Schoenfeld for the entire mess, when in truth inefficient labor practices, greedy big-name talent and rising advertising costs are as much a part of the problem as high-handed management.

With the old-timers either in denial or combat, only newcomers can break the deadlock. One hopeful sign is a recent move by Rocco Landesman, the one Broadway theater operator under 70 and the only one who flatly concedes, "Unless we do something, there won't be a dramatic theater on Broadway."

Shortly after Jeffrey Katzenberg, David Geffen and Steven Spielberg announced their new Hollywood studio, Mr. Landesman, eyeing a theatrical link, phoned to set up a meeting. Even before he did, the Katzenbergs trio, theater fans all, had talked seriously about adding theater to their studio's announced list of activities. What finally stopped them was in part a fatalism about Broadway economics, as experienced by Mr. Geffen when he co-produced with the Shuberts in the 1980's and by Mr. Katzenberg with Disney's "Beauty and the Beast."

But Mr. Geffen has been a vocal Landesman enthusiast since they worked together on "M. Butterfly," a rare dramatic hit of recent Broadway vintage. Should the persistent Mr. Landesman enlist the new studio's tough businessmen in his ambitions, he might not only light up some dark marquees but light a fire under a Broadway establishment that dozes and bickers even as its quarter-century-long epic of decline hurtles to its tragic end. □

Usery at the Bat

By Jim Thurman

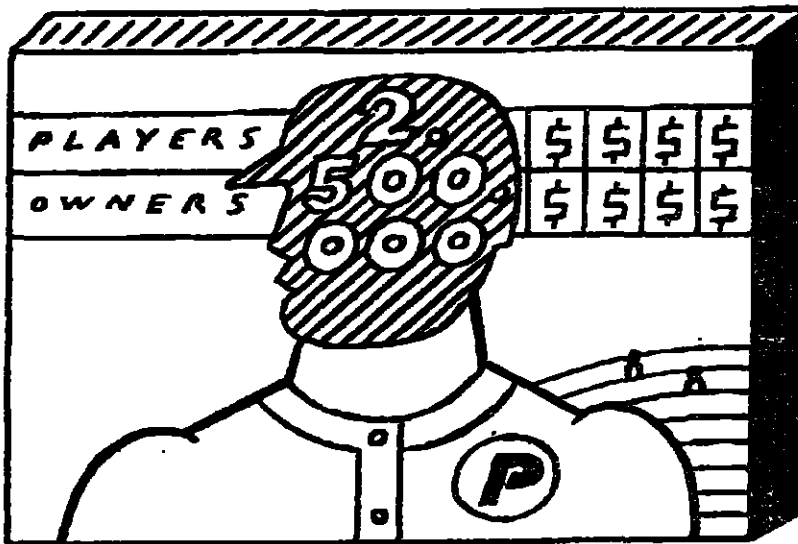
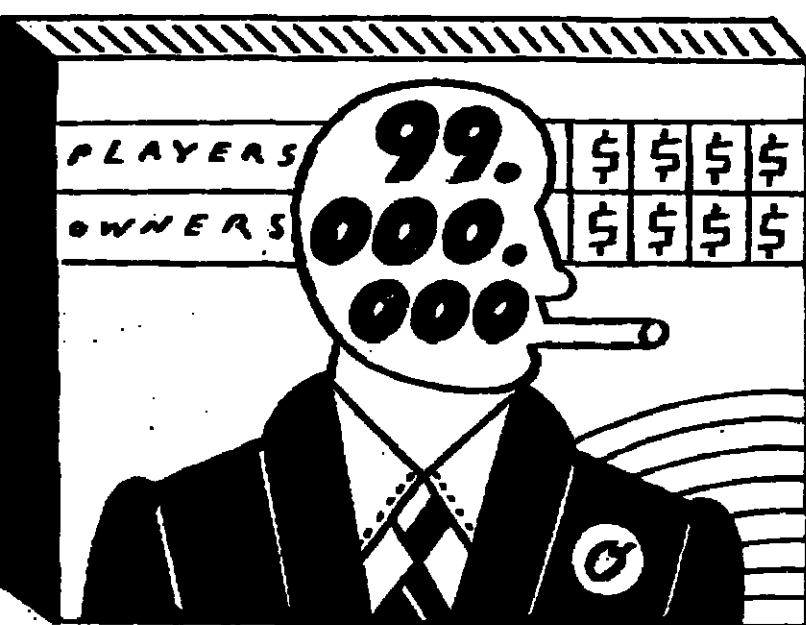
It looked extremely rocky for the baseball fans that day. The Bigs had gone on strike with many innings left to play. And so when myriad talks broke down (cajoling did the same), A pallor wreathed the foul lines (ain't no "fair" lines in this game).

Some erstwhile fans got up to go, leaving there the rest With the faith that springs eternal within the human breast. They thought Federal intervention might be their only shot — They'd put up even money if Washington got hot. But Fehr preceded D.C., and likewise Ravitch: Boo! The former was a whiner and the latter was one, too.

But Fehr said, "Mediation!" to the wonderment of all, And the much mistrusted Ravitch said, "Hand someone else the ball." Then from the gladdened multitude went up a joyous yell — It bounded off the mountaintop, it rattled in the dell, It hit upon the hillside and resounded with a thump — For Clinton, mighty Clinton, said, "Willie Usery, you ump."

There was ease in Willie's manner as he stepped into his place; There was pride in Willie's bearing, and a smirk on Willie's face. And if, responding to the cheers, he showed a little crust, No stranger in the crowd could doubt, "He's thinking antitrust!"

The owners' eyes were on him as he held his gavel high; The players' tongues responded, "He's got guts, hey! what a guy." Then while the greedy landlords hid their books behind their hip, Defiance gleamed in Willie's eye; he bade them, "Let 'er rip!"



And when Bud Selig made his pitch, it hurtled through the air. But Willie stood a-listening in haughty grandeur there. Close by the arbitrator, the pitch unheeded sped. "You see our side?" said Selig. "Hmmm," Willie Usery said.

From this nation starved for baseball, there went up a muffled roar Like the sloshing of Whitewater upon some Senate floor. "Kill him! Kill the umpire!" shouted players from the stand, And it's likely they'd have killed him had not Clinton raised his hand.

With Presidential dignity Bill Clinton's visage shone; He stilled the feeding frenzy, he bade the talks go on. "I feel your keen frustration," said Clinton with a frown, "But we're stuck with Willie Usery; Jimmy Carter's out of town."

Usery signaled to the players, and the pitch they had was thrown, But the designated umpire judged, "It's out of the strike zone." "Fraud!" cried the disenfranchised, and the echo answered "Fraud!" With one scornful look from Clinton his constituents were awed.

The sneer is gone from Clinton's lip; he strides to meet his fate; He yanks this last appointee, takes his place behind the plate. The owners and the players have one final pitch to throw — They see their cash cow threatened by the President's veto!

The litigants on the pitcher's mound have jointly grooved the ball, And now the air is shattered by Umpire Clinton's call!

Oh somewhere in this favored land, things have not run amuck; A "catch" is happening somewhere; somewhere the game's not struck; And somewhere men stare blankly, and somewhere children gawk; But there's still no baseball season — Umpire Clinton hollered, "Balk!"

Jim Thurman is a writer in Sheffield, Mass.

MUSIC

Page and Plant Get the Led Out of Led Zeppelin

By NEIL STRAUSS

In the 1970's, Led Zeppelin almost single-handedly gave rock-and-roll not a bad name, but a worse name. It added "heavy" to the lexicon of adjectives used to describe rock music, developed a reputation for wild, destructive hotel parties, raked in larger percentages of profits than any band before it and turned an uncompromisingly long song, the eight-minute "Stairway to Heaven," into the most popular tune on radio.

Fourteen years after the quartet broke up, as a result of the alcohol-related death of John Bonham, its drummer, Led Zeppelin's music remains a backdrop to the high school years of teenagers everywhere. The group's classic guitar riffs have been hammered indelibly not just into the music of many rap and rock bands but the consciousness of anybody who has ever been near a sound system in the last three decades.

This year, Led Zeppelin's guitarist, Jimmy Page, and singer, Robert Plant, reunited for their first long-term project since 1980. The two performed new arrangements of a dozen Led Zeppelin songs and a handful of new pieces in Morocco, Wales and London for an MTV "Unplugged" special called "No Quarter: Robert Plant and Jimmy Page Unleaded." The special, which had its premiere last week and will be rebroadcast on Monday, Nov. 7, was MTV's highest-rated "Unplugged" episode ever. An album of music recorded for "Unplugged," not all of which made the broadcast, will be released the next day by Atlantic Records. In February, after a decade of rumors and requests, the pair plans to follow in the footsteps of other temporarily disbanded groups like Pink Floyd and the Eagles and embark on what's bound to be a highly lucrative world tour.

"Some great blob called public opinion kept demanding that me and Jimmy do something together again," Mr. Plant said, lighting a stick of incense in his Manhattan hotel room and beginning the first interview he had done with Mr. Page since 1985. "So the only thing we had to consider was, can we do it again? Once we found out we could, certain things in me were born again."

Only Mr. Plant's creased face displays his age. At 47, he can get away with wearing the same crown of long, cascading golden curls and the same type of leather pants that he wore decades ago. Mr. Page, at 50 and dressed in all black to match his billowing hair, smiled impishly and continued Mr. Plant's thought: "It's not a question of us going back. It's a question of coming together and going forward and doing something which maybe people can relate to down the line and plagiarize from us again."

From its inception in 1968, Led Zeppelin was a smug, cocky and undeniably talented band, and it still shows in Mr. Plant and Mr.

Page's demeanor. They enjoy being rock superstars and exercising all the privileges that come with the title. Among the duties of the publicists for their record label during their short stay in New York was to wear Mr. Page's new shoes to break them in and to shop for hip new records for him. "We want to stay in touch with the underground," Mr. Page said, "but we don't have time to go to record stores."

Mr. Plant also wanted underground records, but said that he didn't trust the taste of his record label, Atlantic. "These record labels are useless," Mr. Plant complained. "If I want to have technicolor sex in an underground club, they won't know where to take me."

Mr. Plant and Mr. Page sometimes seem like overgrown children. Over the course of a two-hour interview, Mr. Plant continually teased Mr. Page. Mr. Page tried to outjest Mr. Plant, and both engaged in sexual boasting, referred to things only they understood, and snickered at each other's comments like two best friends in the back row of a school classroom.

"Working with Robert and Jimmy was like getting a divorced couple back together," said Alex Coletti, the "Unplugged" producer. "It was a fragile, very tentative thing at first. The slightest upset could have ruined it."

But after they became immersed in the project, Mr. Plant and Mr. Page renewed their bond. In fact, the pair, who said they had written enough new songs together for a second album, talked as if they had no intention of returning to their spotty solo careers. "Who knows what will happen?" Mr. Plant exclaimed, adding a sardonic comment about two light-metal bands of the 1980's. "We could end up bashing it out like Heart until the very end, or we could be like Motley Crue and suddenly come out with knee-high boots and stick our tongues out and think we're somebody else."

This is not the first time Mr. Plant and Mr. Page's musical paths have crossed since the demise of Led Zeppelin. The two occasionally appeared on each other's solo albums and played together at two one-shot reunion concerts — Live Aid in 1985 and an Atlantic Records party in 1988. As recently as last year, when asked the inevitable question — whether the group would reunite for a bigger project — Mr. Plant responded, "It's a closed door, teen-age music."

Though Mr. Plant and Mr. Page did not want to talk about the genesis of "Unleaded," Mr. Coletti explained: "Originally, we were just going to do an 'Unplugged' with Robert, and we hoped that he would agree to get Jimmy to do a few songs. But then his manager took the initiative, got these guys together and made it happen."

Within a short time, the special began to deviate from its original plan, which was to stick Mr. Plant in front of a hand-picked audience in a Queens studio with an acoustic



Unleaded Jimmy Page, left, and Robert Plant—The journey continues.

band and several guests. "When Robert's people were presenting the idea over the phone, I knew it was going to be a lot of money," Mr. Coletti said. "They said, 'Robert wants to go to Morocco because he wrote "Kashmir" there. Robert wants to go to Wales because he wrote "Down by the Seaside" there.' I said, 'Did Robert write anything in Queens?'"

In Marrakesh, Morocco, Mr. Plant and Mr. Page fulfilled a longtime dream by performing with Gnawa trance musicians, descendants of Sudanese slaves. "Every November," Mr. Plant said, "the people we played with — Ibrahim and his mates — go to people's houses and clear them of the jinn — everything that's bad in the place. But Ibrahim also makes tapes that you can buy for 15 dirhams in the market. So that's quite a useful gig he's got. It's a bit like Tori Amos. She makes you feel good, and she sells a few records."

Though several executives at MTV wanted Mr. Plant and Mr. Page to perform "Stairway to Heaven," the pair decided not

to give any more exposure to that overfamiliar work. "I think we're in a disposable world and 'Stairway to Heaven' is one of the things that hasn't quite been thrown away yet," Mr. Plant said. "I think radio stations should be asked not to play it for 10 years, just to leave it alone for a bit so we can tell whether it's any good or not."

Another problem arose during the taping when Mr. Plant and Mr. Page insisted on using prerecorded drumming and an electric guitar. They got their way. "We wanted to show people how to really re-dress the music," Mr. Plant said.

As a result, the 90-minute broadcast is classic Zeppelin bombast. The duo takes its old songs and makes them bigger. "Nobody's Fault but Mine" is performed on top of a Welsh slate mine; "Kashmir" is supplemented by 35 musicians, including an English and an Egyptian string orchestra. During "The Battle of Evermore," Mr. Page uses a triple-necked guitar that he can hardly get his arms around, and Najma Akhtar, an Indian vocalist whom Mr. Plant is dating, sings the choruses as ethnic instru-

ments rattle and hum in the background.

In fact, the only thing missing from "Unleaded" is John Paul Jones, Led Zeppelin's bassist and keyboardist. Mr. Jones, who is currently touring Europe in a trio with the avant-garde singer Diamanda Galas and the former Attractions drummer Pete Thomas, said in a telephone conversation that he was never asked to take part in the broadcast. "I read about it in the papers," he said. "And then I called a friend just to say, 'Oh, by the way, did you see the latest rumor?' And he replied, 'Didn't they tell you? I went, 'Oh, great.' Maybe I might have joined them, and maybe I wouldn't. But I think it was a bit discourteous of them not to say anything at all.' In response, Mr. Plant and Mr. Page said that "Unleaded" wasn't technically a Led Zeppelin reunion and that they wanted to keep the collaboration simple.

"One slightly naughty thing I was thinking as I was watching the MTV thing," Mr. Jones said, "is how many people it took to replace me, and how few people it's taken me to replace them."

FILM

The Written Word in Film

By ROY HOFFMAN

In the film "Barcelona," in a hospital room in Spain, an American named Ted Boynton keeps vigil beside the bed of his cousin Fred, a United States Navy officer, who lies in a coma after being shot by a political terrorist. Through dire hours Ted and other visitors read aloud passages from "War and Peace." Although Fred has been given little chance of recovering, he suddenly awakes, alert and ornery as ever. It's as if the recitations, in a kind of quirky shamanism, have worked a cure beyond the capability of any drug.

Far away in Dublin, in the film "A Man of No Importance," scheduled to open in December, Alfie Byrne (played by Albert Finney) is a bus conductor whose dreary round is heightened by his love of Oscar Wilde. Rebuffed in his efforts to stage Wilde's "Salomé" with bus passengers as actors and frustrated in his gropings for love with both men and women, he loses himself in the glamorous wit and romantic persona that Wilde's work provides him.

When, in a closing scene, he presses a book upon his bus driver, Robbie Fay, whom he secretly adores, Robbie complains, "Oh, this bleeding poetry again." At Alfie's urging, Robbie reads haltingly from Wilde's "Ballad of Reading Gaol": "Like two doomed ships that pass in storm/ We had crossed each other's way." Resigned to the fact that he will never embrace Robbie physically, Alfie brings him close another way, by joining in the reading. The men's voices, gruff bedfellows, are linked gently in the night.

We know that books have the power to move, rattle, enchant and revive, a phenomenon that "Barcelona," "A Man of No Importance" and several other recent films explore. In an increasingly visual culture where people forsake the fiction section of the town library for the video store or the movie house, it's reassuring that there seems something of a renaissance of reading in the movies.

Perhaps it is the visceral reaction of film makers to the creepy notion that books may one day become artifacts of a pre-computer age. Or perhaps it is a yearning by a generation raised before the glare of viewing screens for the shaded recesses of words on paper and voices telling stories. As movie makers wear out

the dimensions of special effects and outrageous behavior, the presence of books and reading in movies offers still unexploited worlds, pocket universes on the night stand.

The books themselves need not be great literature, only captivating for those who read them. In this way the book a character clutches suggests as much about the character's inner life as any movie score or costume



Morgan Freeman in "The Shawshank Redemption"

change. In "Forrest Gump," for example, the stage is set for a picaresque tale when Forrest's mother (Sally Field) sits with her son reading a "Curious George" book, about a monkey who, not unlike Gump, creates mayhem wherever he goes yet always saves the day. In "Pulp Fiction" Vincent Vega (John Travolta), a cool hit man one might expect to spend his time playing a Game Boy, carries a copy of Terry O'Donnell's "Modesty Blaise," about a Frenchwoman who thrives in an underworld of espionage and guns. In Vincent's hands, the book shows the peril of reading in the smallest room in the house. Even the undercover cop Sheila Kingston (Rosie O'Donnell), in "Exit to Eden," prefers losing herself in the cuddly fantasies of Robert James Waller's "Bridges of Madison County" to having her own kinky ones fulfilled by a panting houseboy on the cartoonishly erotic Eden Island.

To a more sophisticated reader, books can show a way out of despair, as they do for Andy Dufresne (Tim Robbins), serving a life sentence for murder in the bleak penitentiary in Maine in "The Shawshank Redemption." Appointed the librarian of Shawshank, Andy encounters a cobwebbed realm of old Reader's Digest condensed books and adventure-genre novels by Louis L'Amour and Erle Stanley Gardner.

After petitioning the state for book

funds and receiving donations from town libraries, he receives new boxes of books and records and opens them like a cache of gold. Among the riches are "The Count of Monte Cristo," a story bearing similarities to his own. He instructs a fellow prisoner on the pronunciation of the author's name, Alexandre Dumas, and adds: "You'll like it. It's about a prison break."

The library becomes not only a refuge for inmates but a place where Andy, growing in stature among his companions, coaches them for high-school equivalency exams. Books, and the education they provide, become a kind of subversive force at Shawshank, so much so that the warden threatens to "seal off the library" and "have us a book barbecue" — signals to any audience of fascism's grim heart.

If reading offers a journey beyond stone walls for the inmates of Shawshank, for the dwarf child Carlota in "I Don't Want to Talk About It," set in Argentina, it becomes a way to escape the confines of her body. Raised by a wise, doting mother, Carlota matures into a young woman whose inner life is filled with books and music. That she rarely leaves her mother's side matters little to the town's adventurer and roué (Marcello Mastroianni). Carlota seems to be the only woman he meets who is conversant with the Seven Wonders of the World or yearns to hear his stories about orchids in the tropics or the land of India. But perhaps it is not surprising that nations which raise their writers up as heroes produce movies in which literature plays an important role.

Literature is used in another way in "Quiz Show." There, the director Robert Redford sets the lofty world of letters against the smarmy hustle of pop culture, where knowing Emily Dickinson may not win your soul from the Devil but does win you more than an A.

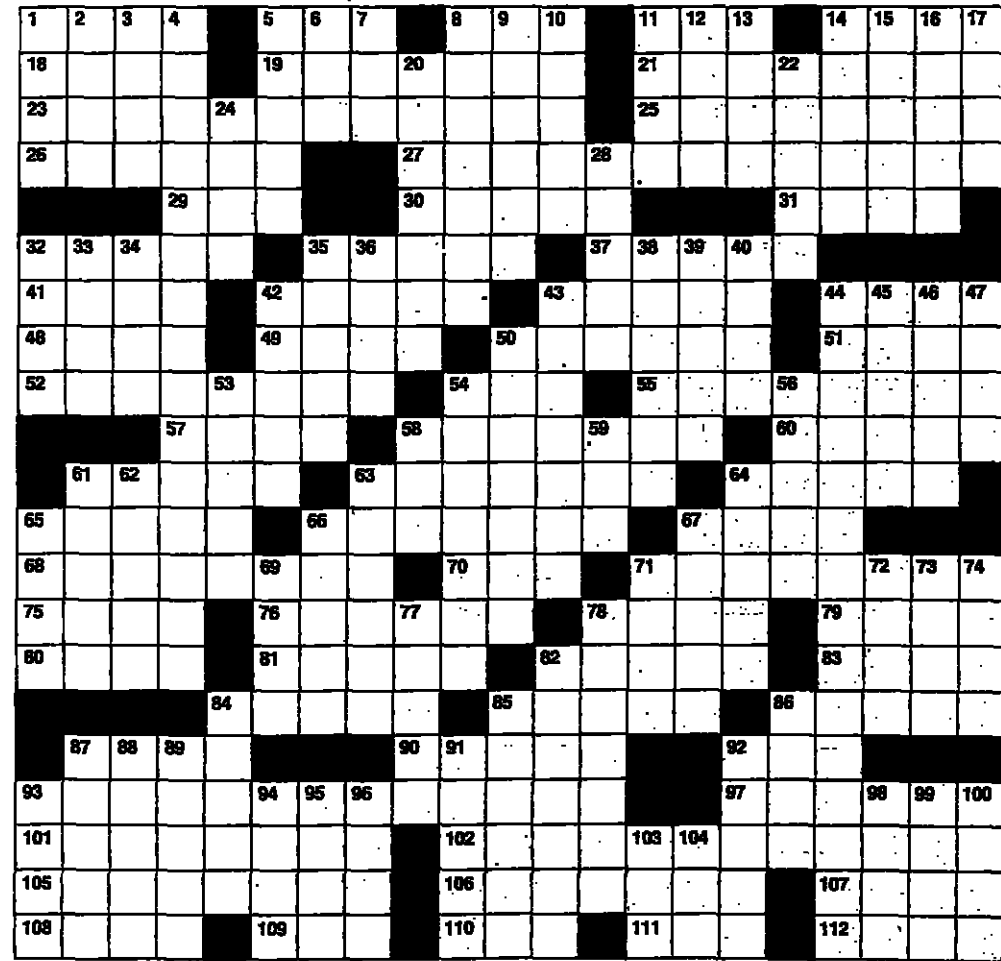
When the Columbia professor Mark Van Doren (Paul Scofield) hears his son, Charles (Ralph Fiennes), hint at impropriety on the quiz show "Twenty One," he is standing before a blackboard with scribbles about Cervantes. These suddenly seem like notes from a vanished era, when people looked to epic novels, not sitcoms, for entertainment. In another scene, around a picnic table in Connecticut, the Van Dorens and friends take turns reciting Shakespeare; moments later Charles presents his father with a birthday gift — a television, that Pandora's box soon to become the nemesis of reading.

JUST FOR OPENERS

By R. M. HOPKINS / Edited by WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- 1 Cheese in a mousetrap
- 5 Rider Haggard romance
- 8 David Stockman's dept., once
- 11 Dickens alias
- 14 Cheerless
- 18 "Moses" author, 1951
- 19 Circle
- 21 One who has the hives
- 23 "In the evening when I sit alone a-dreaming..."
- 25 Arm of the sea?
- 26 Kind of tea
- 27 "Oh, give me land, lots of land..."
- 29 Bruiser
- 30 Beethoven dedicatee
- 31 Org. for the 20-Down
- 32 Excel
- 35 Landslide detritus
- 37 Carve across the grain
- 41 Lincoln in-law
- 42 Selects
- 43 Popular sports car
- 44 Like versatile appliances
- 48 Each
- 49 Call it —
- 50 Tax evaders' bugbears
- 51 Turn about
- 52 Noted castaway
- 54 Iranian desert
- 55 Handbills
- 57 Gulf north of Somalia
- 58 Mummer, at times
- 60 Start, in a way
- 61 Trifled
- 63 Top dog at the zoo
- 64 Some canines
- 65 — cropper
- 66 Bracelets
- 67 Spring
- 68 Seconds
- 70 M.I.T. grads, perhaps
- 71 Least clear
- 75 Gallimaufry
- 76 Spray alternative
- 78 Nut cases?
- 79 Wipe out
- 80 Cult film — 9
- 81 Protective rings
- 82 Where eagles gather
- 83 Kids' stuff?
- 84 Not well
- 85 Paid (up)
- 86 Hamlet's father, e.g.
- 87 Composed
- 90 Milk: Prefix
- 92 Where to go for a spell?
- 93 "Trailer for sale or rent..."
- 97 Salad bar item



- 101 Introductory offer
- 102 "Alas! My love, you do me wrong..."
- 105 Court official
- 106 Anomalous
- 107 Legendary gunfighter
- 108 They've earned their stripes: Abbr.
- 109 German spa
- 110 Common pluralizer
- 111 Stephen Foster's Nelly
- 112 "Let us —"

- 20 Seniors, with "the"
- 22 Special forces unit
- 24 End of the race
- 28 Malodorous
- 32 Kind of horn or line
- 33 Snake dancers
- 34 Pop star
- 35 Nubian Desert locale
- 36 Family
- 38 Prospective taxi fare
- 39 Out-and-out
- 40 Tabula —
- 42 Pent up
- 43 Changes
- 44 "Stormy night and the waves toll high..."
- 45 Anti-slip device
- 46 Reagan nickname
- 47 "— a fire" ("It is to laugh"): Fr.
- 50 "As the blackbird in the spring..."
- 53 Flawless
- 54 Gifts
- 56 Kind of accident
- 58 Groaner
- 59 Computer software abbr.
- 61 "...and — a good-night!"
- 62 — vincit amor
- 63 Informal
- 64 Lacunic
- 65 Hatchet job?

- 66 Sit on
- 67 Like supermarket tabloids
- 69 Madame Bovary
- 71 Entomb in a wall
- 72 Dollar prefix
- 73 Car-roof items
- 74 Words
- 77 Vogue
- 78 Happens to
- 82 "Invincible" victim of Hercules
- 84 Dries, in a way
- 85 Nuts
- 86 Personality determinant
- 87 Kind of duty
- 88 — trump
- 89 Monsters
- 91 Bicker
- 92 Food processor
- 93 City south of Düsseldorf
- 94 Rage
- 95 Stratford streetcar
- 96 Plymouth Rocks, e.g.
- 98 Basso Andresen
- 99 Actress Miles
- 100 Spot
- 103 Crux
- 104 — ammoniac

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

WORDS ALGA ASYII BESMEN
ONIT LAOS FURL EXPIRE
SAVEDBYTREAILED NEEDLE
SNEER LITER ASPIS LIEU
RUNNINGPALENAIL
OIK NOT EASES SEARD
AGIN ROOSTER GADPAL
UNSEAT SHALESWORK RYE
BISTRO SAP YOND PIER
STAYING NEAR RETIRES
ENES ALEODORADO EGGS
DREAMOF COP PETUNIA
ACTS YUFF NEW RIBBES
BOA LITTERRAIL ANGRY
ENLIEE TUNNERS ANCE
GALLES TRACY OED LAY
GIVEVENHAILHARRY
LODE INGE SEED EATLE
AMINES GETWHALESTONES
PADDLE ARNO STIRE TALLA
PRIGES ESTE TOSS MOOS

Roy Hoffman teaches fiction writing at New York University.

Moslems embrace ethnic cleansing as last salvation

MICHAEL MONTGOMERY
BOSNIA

IT'S early morning and Vojkan Djurkovic is busy at work, ethnically cleansing Moslems for their own good.

The ex-footballer, self-proclaimed Serbian army major and man of mission inspects a tired group of Moslems who have gathered at his storefront office to plead for a one-way ticket out of their ancestral homeland.

He waits for the subdued sobs to swell into a fitting cacophony of misery before hushing the crowd with a sermon-like defense.

"I am a man of mercy, really," insists Djurkovic, his fresh face and high-pitched voice belying a sinister reputation. "Some want me for the Hague [war crimes tribunal], but what I really deserve is the Nobel Peace Prize. I am these people's only hope."

Judging by the mood of the gathering, Djurkovic is utterly correct.

It is one of the many strange twists of the Bosnian war that a man who stands accused as a war criminal for his two-year role in the expulsion of thousands of non-Serbs from northern Bosnia — and who reportedly has amassed a small fortune from "transfer fees" — may now be the only lifeline for Moslems in Bijeljina, some 110 km. north of Sarajevo.

There comes a time in war when the vanquished, deprived of all material sustenance, acknowledge their hopeless situation by accepting the cold embrace of their tormentors.

This is something Bosnian government loyalists in Sarajevo have steadfastly refused, pledging to hold out for a 20-year war if necessary. But for the last bedraggled clusters of Moslems stranded in Serb-held territory — estimates range between 40,000 and 60,000 — resistance is futile.

And so each morning dozens of simple peasants and middle-class professionals visit Bijeljina's State Commission for Civilian Population Exchanges, where Maj. Djurkovic directs the one-way traffic in human tragedy. Here, in a daily

theater of the absurd, promises are made and wads of money handed over.

Begun Cedric, a sickly 67-year-old Moslem foiled in attempts to join his wife in government-held Tuzla, is a case in point. "If it weren't for Maj. Vojkan," he says, "we'd be in a terrible danger."

Until recently, times were good for Djurkovic, who earned his stripes early in the war as a loyal follower of the suspected war criminal known as Arkan.

Using his good prewar standing with the Moslems — Djurkovic once played for a local Moslem football club — he took charge of "civilian population exchanges," the leading cottage industry of the Bosnian war, better known as "ethnic cleansing."

Djurkovic calmly insists the "transfers" have been voluntary, the logical result of civil war and ethnic partition. But he makes little effort to hide the terror tactics employed in the process.

"In government-controlled areas, these people have mosques and their own culture. Here they have nothing of the sort. You never know what could happen to them at the hands of angry Serbian refugees or fighters."

In what was seen as a final push to rid northern and eastern Bosnia of its remaining Moslems, some 6,000 people have been removed from their homes in the Bijeljina region since July. Fewer than 2,000 of the prewar population of 30,000 Moslems now remain in Bijeljina and nearby Janja.

Late last month, the Bosnian Serb leadership abruptly halted the exodus and appointed a new police chief in Bijeljina.

This followed a tough warning from the UN Security Council and two unusually strong protests by the top UN diplomat in the former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi.

Although Moslems continue to be deported from other Serb-held areas such as Rogatica and Banja Luka, aid workers say the daily terror has eased in



Bosnian Moslems, in a refugee convoy last year, fight over a piece of bread. Their countrymen stranded in Serb-held areas regret staying behind. They bribe Serbs, hoping to be "transferred" to the Moslem sector. (AFP)

Bijeljina.

Yet the supposed upturn in the political climate has only made things worse for Bijeljina's Moslems. Western pressure may have compelled the Serbs to halt odious expulsions, but it has also denied many Moslems a future elsewhere.

"No one ever wants to be seen aiding and abetting ethnic cleansing," said one UN official. "But the fact is that these people have already been cleansed psychologically by months and months of low-level terror. The only hope is that the local Serbian and Moslem Red Crosses can organize a transfer."

As he faces renewed scrutiny, Djurkovic now seems a man in a hurry and goes to unusual steps to prove his innocence. In a rare visit to Janja, a once-prosperous community now reduced to a Mos-

lem ghetto, Djurkovic confidently marches into a modest home sheltering more than 20 Moslems.

A 51-year-old Moslem woman whose head is wrapped in a thick bandage explains how she was beaten and thrown out of her home by Serbian squatters.

"I stayed on for so long because I thought the war would end and all the refugees would go home," she said. "That's impossible now and I've nowhere to go."

In terrified whispers several people described how the evictions were organized by officials from Djurkovic's commission, which also handles the resettlement of Serb refugees.

"They come into our homes and act as if they are the owners," said one elderly woman. "We can't live side-by-side so we have to leave."

Djurkovic claims most of these displaced Moslems have already exchanged their homes for dwellings abandoned by Serbs in government-held areas of Bosnia. He warns that violence could intensify if the Moslems are unable to leave the Bijeljina area.

"I am one of the few people around here who is trying to help these people," he says, motioning to the Moslems in the Janja home. They look on impassively, heads bowed.

Djurkovic finally promises to take out all the Moslems, but only after Western pressure eases on the Bosnian Serbs. He leaves the dilapidated refuge with an air of satisfaction, bounding into Janja's dirty backstreets in bright new trainers.

"I am everything to them," he smiles. "I am their god and their savior."

(The Sunday Telegraph)

Poisonous consequences

EARTHLY CONCERNS

D'VORA BEN SHAUL

FARMERS in the North took matters into their own hands a few weeks ago and poisoned the flock of their neighbors because they felt the animals were intruding on their territory.

Many people were shocked by this but it was not a new phenomenon. In the 1970s one of the most "liberal" and well-known kibbutzim in the Negev spread poisoned grain, apparently to deter Beduin neighbors who might have wanted to pasture their sheep there. The real reason was that kibbutz members feared that if the shepherds entered their fields they might steal agricultural equipment.

The result was not only the decimation of the Beduin flocks but the death of at least 17 gazelles and an untold number of other animals. And little could be done about it. No one saw the kibbutzniks place the poison.

In the end, wardens of the Nature Reserves Authority settled for the ideological council of the kibbutz movement reprimanding the alleged culprits.

In the recent case, the chemical Temik was used, a systemic compound which, when applied to a plant, poisons the roots, the stems, the leaves, the flowers and the seed. In most of the Western world it is banned. Here it is accepted.

When this chemical was licensed in Israel at the end of the 1970s, the NRA fought it all the way. In the end, the Agriculture Ministry, the chemical's chief proponent, gave several guarantees — guarantees that were never honored.

The ministry agreed that the chemical would be used solely for cotton. It also stipulated that every user would undergo 48 hours of instruction on the use and dangers of this chemical.

However, within a year of Temik's licensing, agriculturalists had already allowed its use on fruit and nut trees; and after that there were no more barriers. It became clear to the farmers that they had access to a poison against whatever they found to be a menace.

It is sad that Temik, a carcinogenic, mutagenic and perhaps teratogenic substance, banned in all enlightened states, should be available at agricultural chemical shops in Israel to whoever wants it.

There are at least 12 chemicals used in Israel today that have been banned as a threat to public health in most of the Western world. This country has come to be seen as a backward nation when it comes to health protection of its citizens.

Court: Firm can't overturn undertaking without telling staff

LAW REPORT

ASHER FELIX LANDAU

In the National Labor Court before the President Judge Menahem Goldberg, the Deputy-President Judge Stephen Adler, Judge Yitzhak Eliasoff, Employees' Representative Avraham Shemer, and Employers' Representative Haim Haham, in the matter of The Palestine Post Ltd., appellants, versus Joanna Yehiel, respondent (Shin. Disket, Daled Bet Ayin Nun Gimel 1-3-223).

THE Jerusalem District Labor Court upheld Joanna Yehiel's claim against The Palestine Post for severance pay assessed on the basis of 180 percent, and to salary in lieu of leave. However, it dismissed her claim to include in the severance pay "salary 13," an annual perk equal to an additional month's salary (The Jerusalem Post, May 24, 1993).

The Post appealed to the National Labor Court against both awards. Yehiel cross-appealed against the exclusion of "salary 13" and against a comment by the district court that the moneys she received from an employees' pension fund — Makefet — represented 100% of her severance pay.

Judge Goldberg delivered the judgment of the court. The district court, he said, had based its decision relating to severance pay on an undertaking by the Post to provide 180% severance pay for those who resign, and on section 11(a) of the Severance Pay Law of 1963. Under that section, "Where an employee resigns by reason of an appreciable deterioration of his conditions of employment, or in view of other matters of labor re-

lations affecting him and because of which he cannot be expected to continue in his employment, the resignation shall, for the purposes of this Law, be deemed to be dismissal."

The Post had submitted, he continued, that its undertaking to pay 180% was intended to apply only to individual resignations and not, as in the present case, to resignations of a group of employees. It also contended that the undertaking had been canceled before Yehiel resigned.

There was ample evidence to support the district court's finding, the president held, that the undertaking to pay 180% applied to all resignations. Moreover, the decision to revoke the undertaking had not yet been conveyed to the employees when Yehiel resigned, and it therefore had no influence on her claim.

Citing precedents, he also upheld the district court finding that there was no "group resignation." Resignation was the act of an individual employee within the contractual framework of labor relations. It remained so even if a number of employees sent a joint letter of resignation.

On the question of "salary 13," Judge Goldberg cited precedents and referred to sections 12 and 13 of the Severance Pay Law. Under section 12, the rate of severance pay was "a month's wages per year of employment," but section 13 provided for regulations to determine "such components of the total wage as shall be taken into account for the purposes of severance pay."

The components were laid down in the Severance Pay Regulations (Assessment of Severance Pay and Resignation Regarded as Dismissal), of 1964. "Salary 13" was not included in the components to be taken into account, and it followed that Yehiel's claim under that head could not be sustained.

Relating to the Makefet fund, Judge Goldberg said the facts before the court were insufficient to determine to what extent the payment to Yehiel from the fund had covered her severance pay. The court would order, therefore, that her severance pay was to be assessed at 180%; any moneys paid to her, or due to her, from the fund were to be deducted, and paid to her separately, on conditions stated in the judgment.

YEHIEL'S CLAIM for salary in lieu of leave, he continued, was based on a custom of the Post to grant employees an additional three months' "sabbatical" leave on full pay, for each five years' service. She submitted that since the then-editor had asked her not to take her leave at the relevant time, she was entitled to three months' salary as compensation.

The Post had not denied the custom, but had contended that the leave was neither cumulative nor subject to compensation. It had added that in no case had an employee who resigned received

salary in lieu of leave not taken. Judge Goldberg then referred in some detail to the journalists' general collective agreement, and to several precedents relating to compensation for unexploited leave.

The leave now considered was a "fringe benefit" or "additional emolument" as distinguished from increments directly connected with the employee's occupation. They were not additions to his salary, such as cost of living, professional or seniority allowances.

Sometimes leave compensation was payable by law as laid down, for example, in section 13 of the Annual Leave Law of 1951. Otherwise, no compensation was payable unless the contract between the employer and employee specifically provided therefor. There could certainly be no basis for compensation where the employment had already ended.

It followed that Yehiel's claim under this head was unacceptable.

THE ABOVE findings, the president continued, were sufficient to dispose of the present appeals. However, the court would also consider Yehiel's claim under section 11(a) of the Severance Pay Law, which had been dealt with at length by the district court.

That court had implied, he said, that a journalist's rights under labor law, including his right to severance pay, were to be judged by

special criteria connected with freedom of expression, freedom of the press and individual liberty.

This court was of opinion that a journalist was in the same position as any other employee in considering his right to severance pay. In his case too, the question whether it should be demanded of him to continue his work depended on his profession, the type of work and his status at work. Each case had to be weighed objectively on its merits.

However, the court had held that the situation was different if the employee had been accepted because of his religious or political opinions, and his ideological orientation was a prior condition to the relationship of employer and employee.

Perhaps this was such a case, but in view of the Post's undertaking on severance pay, it was unnecessary to decide that issue.

The district court conceded that in countries such as England and the US, it was a recognized right of a newspaper owner to demand compliance with his views from journalists whom he retained, despite their contrary opinions. However, the district court had described that attitude as "anachronistic."

The court regarded that expression of opinion on the policies of two countries whose support of press freedom was unchallenged, and in one of which it was protect-

ed by the constitution, as exceedingly farfetched.

The right to property, and protection against its violation, were recognized in the Basic Law: The Dignity and Freedom of Man, of 1992. It included the right of the owner of an enterprise to conduct it as he wished. It was common knowledge that the owners of some of Israel's best-known newspapers were also their "chief editors." Was this a violation of freedom of the press?

Judge Goldberg added that the court, charged with preserving the basic freedoms of incorporation, occupation and striking, was no less concerned with preserving freedom of expression.

The judge emphasized the distinction, in duties and restrictions, between public media established by statute and privately owned newspapers. He cited the Broadcasting Authority Law of 1965, the Second Television and Radio Channel Law of 1990, and several precedents including the cases of Zichroni, Kahana, Gert, and Kol Ha'am (H.C. 243/82, 399/85; 243/62, and 73/53 — The Jerusalem Post of April 24, 1983; The Jerusalem Post Law Reports, p.47; and Selected Supreme Court Judgments [English], Vol. IV, p. 208 and Vol. I, p.90).

It was true that basic rights and Basic Laws also reflected on private law. However, was a newspaper licensed under the Press Ordinance obliged to publish every article or every letter it received? Was a political party paper obliged to publish articles opposed to its policy? Was a paper

owned by a religious party obliged to publish an article against religious coercion or in favor of civil marriages? "Freedom of expression" did not go to such lengths.

The basic right of freedom of expression, like every basic right, was not absolute. It had to be balanced, in the present context, against the right to property. The owner of a newspaper was entitled to dictate its policy, and to require his employed journalists to conform to his ideas. If they did not agree, he could dismiss them. The question of their rights to severance pay would then be determined according to the principles explained above.

Judge Goldberg reiterated that in view of the Post's contractual undertaking to base the severance pay on 180%, there was no need for the court to return a finding as to what would have been Yehiel's rights under section 11(a). He added that some members of the court were of opinion that her case was covered by that section.

FOR THE above reasons the Post's appeal regarding severance pay was dismissed, and its appeal regarding leave compensation was allowed. Yehiel's appeal relating to "salary 13" was dismissed, and her appeal relating to Makefet was allowed.

The Post was ordered to pay Yehiel's costs in the appeal in the sum of NIS 3,000 plus VAT.

Arnold Spær appeared for Yehiel, and Yosef Arnon appeared for the Post.

The judgment was given on October 17, 1994.

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BUSINESS & FINANCE

MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1994

Central bank: Israel Discount must sell share of Mercantile Discount

NEIL COHEN

ISRAEL Discount Bank must sell the half-share of Mercantile Discount Bank it acquired from Barclays Bank within six months, the Bank of Israel announced yesterday.

The central bank said its decision was taken as part of its policy to break up the banking sector and increase competition.

In January 1993, Barclays Bank, Britain's second largest bank, agreed to sell its half share in what was then called Barclays Discount Bank to British businessman Bernard Schreier.

However, Israel Discount Bank, which owned the other half of the bank, exercised its right of first refusal on the shares. The Bank of Israel, which opposed the sale to Discount, then argued that Discount required its approval to buy the shares.

The Tel Aviv District Court ruled in favor of Discount, but the central bank appealed to the Supreme Court — which overturned the previous judgment.

Given the Supreme Court's ruling, the central bank decided to deny Discount's application for permission to acquire the shares and, given that the transaction has already been completed, force Discount to dispose of the shares.

Speaking from London, Schreier said he was still interested in buying the Barclays shares or even the whole bank.

He said that before approaching Discount he would investigate the legal position created by the Bank of Israel's latest move and whether

the effective nullification of the sale of Barclays shares should restate his original agreement with the British bank.

Supervisor of Banks Ze'ev Abeles said that, to the best of his knowledge, Discount's board would be free to sell the Barclays shares to anyone they liked.

He added that ideally he would like to see Discount divest Mercantile Discount in its entirety, but he had no power to make this happen, although the Treasury might be able to as part of the bank shares arrangement.

More foreign currency liberalizations announced

Post Business Staff

AS of tomorrow, Israeli residents will be permitted to take \$7,000 out of the country when they travel abroad, as part of the newest stage in the Bank of Israel's foreign currency liberalization policy.

The money may also be withdrawn in cash abroad. The previous limit was \$3,000.

The Bank of Israel announced this yesterday as part of several steps being taken in the next stage of its liberalization of foreign currency.

Other steps include removal of the limit on the amount an Israeli resident can spend abroad via a

credit card for purchase of goods and services usually needed by tourists — such as hotels, restaurants, travel, entertainment, clothing, shoes, souvenirs, etc.

Rules regarding requirements to arrange authorization for making withdrawals via credit cards abroad prior to leaving the country have also been canceled.

The central bank's supervisor of foreign currency announced that Israeli tourists spent about \$250 million via their credit cards last year, and \$246m. in the first three

months of this year. This is about 30 percent of the money Israeli tourists spend abroad.

The change in policy regarding foreign currency for tourists going abroad is part of the Bank of Israel's policy to open financial markets, decided upon by Finance Minister Avraham Shohat and Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frankel in August.

As part of this policy, limitations regarding direct investment abroad by the business sector were lifted, as were limits on the periods for deposits linked to the cost of living and the exchange rate.

Tomato license imports issued

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

THE Agriculture Ministry issued licenses yesterday to import 1,000 tons of tomatoes from France and Holland following the sharp rise in local market prices.

The first tomatoes are expected to arrive within a week. The licenses were issued to Co-Op, Superol, Shekem, Hypershuk, and some vegetable wholesalers.

Local tomato growers said they do not object to the imports from France and Holland, since their tomatoes are as expensive as those here.

The Ministry said it is examining the possibility of importing tomatoes from Morocco and Turkey, where prices are half what they are here.

Bank of Israel denies it was pressured into decision on rates

JOSE ROSENFELD

THE Bank of Israel denied over the weekend a report that it was pressured into making small interest rate hikes during the year by criticism from the private sector against high rates.

According to a report in Friday's *Ha'aretz*, David Klein, the Central Bank's senior director of monetary policy, said attacks by Federation of Israel Chambers of Commerce President Danny Gillerman and Manufacturers Association President Dan Propper pressured the Bank of Israel to make smaller hikes.

According to the report, Klein said interest rates have to be raised more than the present 15.5 percent, since it is barely a real interest rate. Klein also warned that if interest rates do not increase, next year's inflation goal of between 8% and 11% will not be met.

"I am very enticed to admit guilt that I have such influence on inflation and interest rates and such power in the economy," said Gillerman. "However, to attribute to me, or anyone else in the business sector, such influence on inflation and on the Bank of Israel's moves is something far removed from reality. If someone in the bank be-

lieves that, then the Bank of Israel has a real problem."

"If Klein says that these considerations influence Bank of Israel decisions, then he is revealing their weakness to pressure, and that is a shame," said budget director David Brodet.

Bank of Israel director of international affairs Gideon Schurr repudiated the report, saying the campaign of pressure and criticism that came from various interest groups against interest hikes had no influence on the Central Bank's decision-making apparatus.

He added that it would be inappropriate for the bank to personally accuse individuals holding public positions of causing inflation.

Nevertheless, Schurr said, the lack of support for the Central Bank's monetary policy weakened the effectiveness of the interest hikes to lower inflation.

Schurr noted that, in contrast to previous months, there is now a consensus about the importance of keeping inflation and interest rates low. "This is a much better chance that the Central Bank's monetary policy will be more effective, he said.

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- The apartment may be viewed on Monday or Wednesday, October 31/November 2, 1994, 4:00-5:30 p.m.**
- The proposed agreement may be obtained at the office of Uri Chen Adv., 111 Rehov Arlosoroff, Tel Aviv, Tel. 691 9570.**
- To offer a bid, submit the agreement, with only the personal details of the bidder and the amount of the bid filled in. The agreement should be initiated by the bidder. No change and/or addition and/or correction made by the bidder will obligate the undersigned; such amendments may disqualify the bid - all at the discretion of the undersigned.**
- An autonomous bank guarantee, valid for 30 days, or bank check for 5% of the bid, made out to the undersigned, should be attached to the bid.**
- The bid should be submitted in a sealed envelope, marked "For Tel Aviv Apt.," by November 4, 1994 (12 noon) at the office of the undersigned.**
- No commission will be paid.**
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BUSINESS BRIEFS

Osem International and Guri establish marketing holding company: Osem International and Guri Industry and Export Ltd. established a marketing holding company at an initial investment of \$1.8 million, the companies announced yesterday. Osem and Guri each have a 50 percent share in OG International, which will specialize in distribution of products in Eastern Europe. The marketing company will specialize in the sale of consumer items in the food, cleaning, and cosmetic product fields.

Elite's establishment of chocolate factory approved: The Investment Center of the Industry and Trade Ministry yesterday approved Elite's establishment of a chocolate and chocolate products factory in the Tzippori industrial zone at a cost of \$48.8 million. The factory is moving from Ramat Gan and will expand its output to approximately \$105m., employing 575 workers.

Gabay Committee hears two more claims: The Gabay Committee established by the Finance Ministry to handle compensation for the halting of building on projects undertaken via government contracts recently finished handling claims by two more of the 42 firms who have filed such claims. The committee was set up in 1992 to determine compensation for expenses for building halted by the government. Of the 42 firms who were ordered to stop building, 23 filed suit in the Jerusalem District Court to get back expenses, in accordance with the Gabay Committee's authority, and compensation for loss of expected profits, estimated at millions of shekels.

Grofit and IDP both backed down from their demands for compensation for loss of future profits. IDP was granted NIS 1.7 million in operating expenses by the committee because of projects halted at two sites. The committee approved the continuation of building for Grofit, with the company giving up incentives and grants, including a purchasing commitment by the government, and has agreed to build according to the regulations currently in effect.

Provident fund managers asked to be more active in firms: The Treasury has asked all provident fund managers to become more active in the companies in which they invest, by using their voting rights at shareholders' meetings to prevent mismanagement. Under a proposed bill, fund managers would be required to exercise their voting rights at general meetings if the shares they hold represent five percent or more of the fund's assets, or if the resolution before the shareholder would harm or otherwise significantly affect the interests of the fund members.

ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

Patish (foreign currency deposit rates) (31.10.94)

Currency (deposit for)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	4.875	4.875	5.750
U.S. dollar (\$100,000)	4.875	4.875	5.750
German mark (DM 200,000)	4.125	4.125	4.875
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	2.875	3.125	3.500
Yen (10 million yen)	0.750	0.875	1.125

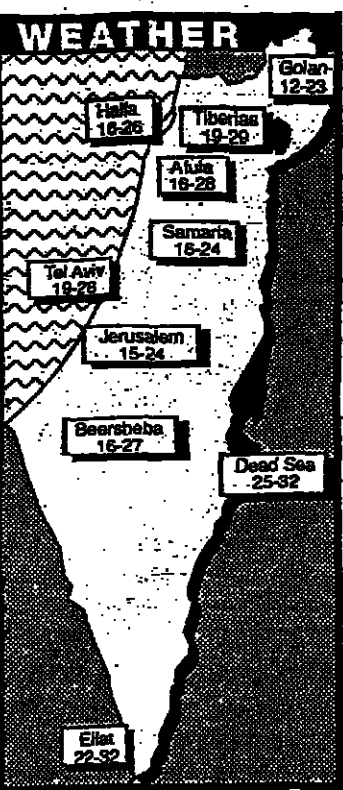
(Rates may vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (28.10.94)

Currency basket	Buy	Sell	Banknotes	Buy	Sell
U.S. dollar	3.2850	3.4330	100	3.4105	3.4105
U.S. dollar	2.9851	3.0272	50	3.0707	3.0707
German mark	1.9925	2.0204	100	2.0205	2.0205
French franc	4.8555	4.9325	100	4.9325	4.9325
Japanese yen (100)	0.8814	0.8895	100	0.8895	0.8895
Swiss franc	3.0774	3.1208	100	3.1208	3.1208
British pound	1.7784	1.8255	100	1.8255	1.8255
Swedish krona	2.8810	2.9420	100	2.9420	2.9420
Swedish krona	0.4191	0.4250	100	0.4250	0.4250
Swedish krona	0.4578	0.4640	100	0.4640	0.4640
Swedish krona	0.5386	0.5458	100	0.5458	0.5458
Swedish krona	0.6535	0.6607	100	0.6607	0.6607
Swedish krona	2.2035	2.2407	100	2.2407	2.2407
Swedish krona	2.2179	2.2482	100	2.2482	2.2482
Swedish krona	0.8555	0.8627	100	0.8627	0.8627
Swedish krona	0.9922	0.9919	100	0.9919	0.9919
Swedish krona	2.6327	2.6727	100	2.6727	2.6727
Swedish krona	1.9455	1.9760	100	1.9760	1.9760
Swedish krona	3.2677	3.3533	100	3.3533	3.3533
Swedish krona	4.8254	4.8995	100	4.8995	4.8995
Swedish krona	2.4291	2.471	100	2.471	2.471
Swedish krona	2.8951	2.933	100	2.933	2.933
Swedish krona	2.8951	2.933	100	2.933	2.933

* These rates vary according to bank. ** Bank of Israel.

SOURCE: BANK LEUMI



AROUND THE WORLD

	LOW	HIGH	WIND	SEA
Jerusalem	12-18	22-28	10-15	1-2
Tel Aviv	14-20	24-30	10-15	1-2
Haifa	14-20	24-30	10-15	1-2
Beersheva	16-22	26-32	10-15	1-2
Dead Sea	22-32	32-38	0-5	0-1

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p12,12 EMERGENCY PHARMACIES

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CRITIC'S CHOICE

THEATER

HELEN KAYE

MOST Israelis know pitifully little about Ethiopian culture. *The Adara Oath* by Haim Idiss tells the story of a young Ethiopian recruit whose confrontation with Israeli culture has tragic results. The Children and Youth theater production is at Yaron Yershalmi Hall at Suzanne Dellal in Tel Aviv at 5 p.m. (Hebrew)

LITERATURE

HELEN KAYE

GERMAN speakers are invited to hear *A Salute to German-Jewish Immigrants* with personal reminiscences and readings from the works of German-speaking Jews who immigrated between the '20s and the '50s. The emcees are Shlomo Erel and Armin Wallas and the evening is sponsored by the Austrian Embassy and the WZO. At Weizmann Hall in the Jewish Agency building on the corner of King George and Keren Kayemet L'Yisrael in Jerusalem tonight at 5 p.m.

CLASSICAL MUSIC

MICHAEL AIZENSTADT

ZUBIN Mehta leads the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra in its first performance of Richard Strauss's tone poem *Ein Heldenleben* ("A Hero's Life"). This is undoubtedly the best performance the orchestra and Mehta have delivered this season, not surprising considering how long Mehta has fought for the right to perform the music of Strauss in this country. Tonight through Thursday at the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv (8:30). In the first part of the program cellist Yo Ma performs two compositions with orchestra: Haydn's cello concerto in D Major and Bloch's *Schelomo*.

FILMS

ADINA HOFFMAN

★★★ *SIRENS - A Midsummer Night's Dream* meets *Lady Chatterley's Lover* meets the strict spirit of Jesse Helms in John Duigan's pleasant new film, set in Australia in the late 1920s. The film centers around a priggish pastor (played by Hugh Grant), his sexually curious wife, the bohemian painter Norman Lindsay, and his trio of statuesque models. To Duigan's credit, he doesn't strain to issue another tired statement about free expression in art or sexual liberation. He's for it. Throughout most of the film he spends his best energies as the painter Lindsay does, creating for our delectation numerous striking landscapes of



'The Adara Oath' explores an Ethiopian immigrant's clash with Israeli culture.

curvy hillsides and rolling female flanks. (English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Not recommended for children.)

DOCUMENTARY

HELEN KAYE

MANY people know that his generals defied Adolf Hitler to save Paris. Fewer know that he also ordered the destruction of Vienna. The video film *Operation Redetzy* tells the story of how Austrian Army officer Carl Szokoll saved the city. Szokoll will be present at tonight's screening at the Tel Aviv Cinematheque at 9:30 p.m. The film will also screen tomorrow at 7 p.m. (English)

TELEVISION

PENNY STARR

HIGH-tech has hit the Holy Land. At least it has for children with Channel 1's afternoon info show *Zip to One*. There's an hour of games, quizzes, computer news and rock video clips starting at 4:05 p.m. At 5, switch to Channel 2 for Rafi Reshef's *Reshef at Five*, the Second Channel's daily news alternative to *A New Evening*. Late at night there's a battle for who can put you to bed laughing hardest. Superchannel offers congenial entertainment with *Best of Jay Leno's Tonight Show* at 11:30. Channel 2 gives you the inner thoughts of *Herman's Head* at 11:45, while Channel 3's *Dear John* at 11:50 will send you off with a smile.

CINEMA

Sirens 5, 7, 9:30 • Speed 7, 9:30 • The Lion King (Hebrew dialogue) 5 • RAV-OR When a Man Loves a Woman 4:30, 7, 9:15 • ARAID STAR Baby's Day Out 5 • The Lion King (Hebrew dialogue) 4:30 • Speed 4:30, 7:15, 9:45 • Kila 7:30, 9:45 • Clear and Present Danger 7, 9:45

ASHDOD G.G. Gil. Forest Gump 4:30, 7:15, 10 • The Specialist's Love Trouble/Natural Born Killers/Blown Away 5, 7:30, 10

ASHKELON G.G. Gil. Forest Gump 4:30, 7:15, 10 • The Client 4:45, 7:15, 10 • Aya/The Specialist/Blown Away 5, 7:30, 10

BAT YAM RAV-CHEN 4:30, 7:15, 9:45 • When a Man Loves a Woman 4:30, 7:15, 9:45 • Three Some/Speed/Four Weddings and a Funeral 5, 7:30, 9:45

BEERSHEVA RAV-NEGEV 1-4 • 235276 Four Weddings and a Funeral/Three Some/Speed/Four Weddings and a Funeral 4:30, 7:15, 9:45 • When a Man Loves a Woman 4:30, 7:15, 9:45 • G.G. Gil. Forest Gump 4:30, 7:15, 10 • Blown Away 4:30, 7:15, 10 • Clear and Present Danger 4:30, 7:15, 10 • The Specialist 5, 7:30, 10

BIMONA MOFET Clear and Present Danger 8

HADERA LEV 1-4 • 343555 The Specialist 5, 7:30, 10 • Forest Gump 4:30, 7:15, 10, 10:30, 12

HERZLIYA MANDARIN The Client/When a Man Loves a Woman 4:30, 7:15, 9:45 • 544044 THE AUDITORIUM Mr. Wonderful 7:30, 9:30 STAR 588088 29 Sokolov St. Forest Gump 7:15, 10 • Blown Away 4:30, 7:15, 10 • Clear and Present Danger 4:30, 7:15, 10 • The Specialist 5, 7:30, 10

KARMEL CINEMA 1-3 • 587277 The Client/Love Trouble/Four Weddings and a Funeral 7, 9:30

KFAR SAVA G.G. Gil. The Specialist 5, 7:30, 10 • Clear and Present Danger 4:30, 7:15, 10 • Blown Away 4:30, 7:15, 10 • Baby's Day Out 10 • Love Trouble 4:45, 7:15, 10

KIRYAT BIALIK G.G. KIRYON 1-9 • 779186 The Client/Clear and Present Danger 7, 9:30 • Baby's Day Out/Blank Check/Monkey Trouble/Getting Even With Dad 4:45 • The Lion King (Hebrew dialogue) 4:45 • Speed/Blown Away/The Specialist/Forest Gump 4:45, 7, 9:30 • Mr. Wonderful 7, 9:30 • Natural Born Killers 7, 9:30

KIRYAT MALACHI HAKRYA 1-5 • 5102574 Opera House Singalong/The Sirens/The Distance/Serial Mom 5:30, 9:30 • SHAHAF 1-2 • 5271845 Kilar Namir Forest Gump 4:30, 7:15, 10 • Clear and Present Danger 4:30, 7:15, 10 • G.G. Gil. TAYELET 1-3 • 517089 2 Yona Hanavi St. The Client 5, 7:30, 10 • Reality Bites 5, 7:15, 10 • Aya 5, 7:30, 10 • G.G. Gil. TAYELET 1-3 • 517089 2 Yona Hanavi St. The Client 5, 7:30, 10 • Reality Bites 5, 7:15, 10 • Aya 5, 7:30, 10 • G.G. Gil. TAYELET 1-3 • 517089 2 Yona Hanavi St. The Client 5, 7:30, 10 • Reality Bites 5, 7:15, 10 • Aya 5, 7:30, 10

LOD STAR Clear and Present Danger/When a

TELEVISION

CHANNEL 1

6:30 News 6:45 Cartoon 7:00 Good Morning Israel

EDUCATIONAL TV

8:00 Art of the Western World - The Renaissance 8:30 Reading 8:50 The Human Body 9:05 Nature 9:15 The Animal World 9:25 Rehov Sumsum 10:00 Morning Talk - Banya Barak hosts professionals in the fields of psychology, education and society. This week - Addictive Behavior 10:30 Science and Technology 11:00 English: Seven in Heaven 11:25 World History 11:55 Education News Flash 12:00 French - Avec Plaisir 12:10 Natural Science 12:30 Geography - the planet Earth 12:45 Society 13:05 Deaf As Me 13:30 Keep Fit 14:00 Pretty Butterfly 14:30 1001 Americas - animated series on history of America 15:00 Pizhuhim - game show

CHANNEL 1

15:30 Danny's Room 15:35 Tiny Toon - Cartoon Series 16:00 News update 16:05 Zip to One - Games, quizzes, computers, rock, video clips etc 17:00 A New Evening 17:30 Animals and Smiles - quiz show 18:00 Rugrats 18:15 News in English

ARABIC PROGRAMS

18:30 Sports magazine 19:00 News in Arabic

HEBREW PROGRAMS

19:30 From the Movies - cinema magazine 20:00 Mabat 21:00 Popolizza 22:10 Between the Lines - British drama about the very dark side of London's police force 23:00 Backy Time: Tais Manor hosts artists 23:30 Late-night news 23:35 Viasat That Saved Lives (part 2)

CHANNEL 2

14:05 First Love 14:30 Spending - consumer magazine 15:00 Disney Time: Duck Tales 15:30 Disney Time: Tale Spin 16:00 The Bold and the Beautiful 17:00 Reshef at Five 17:30 Fresh Prince of Bel-Air 18:00 Double Dare - children's game show 18:30 Dr. Quinn - Medicine Woman 19:30 Lingo - game show 20:00 News 20:30 50 Years of Disney - series with scenes of classic Disney films and talks with some of the stars 21:00 Comedy Store 21:30 Gov Night 21:45 Mad Over Miami - detective series 23:45 Herman's Head - comedy 00:00 News 00:05 Herman's Head (continued) 00:15 Night Poem

JORDAN TV (unofficial)

17:00 French programs 18:30 News in French 19:00 News in Hebrew 19:30 The Emergency Room 20:00 News in Arabic 20:30 Coach 21:10 Columbus (documentary) 22:00 News in English 22:20 Documentary 23:15 No Job for a Lady

MIDDLE EAST TV

14:00 The 700 Club 14:55 Film 16:30 Night Movie 16:55 Joe Superbook II 18:10 Documentary 19:10 Rescue 911 20:00 World News Tonight 20:30 CNN Headline News 21:00 The Cosby Show 21:30 Lois and Clark: The New Adventures of Clark Kent 22:30 The Commish 23:10 700 Club 00:00 Special Programs

CABLE

FAMILY CHANNEL (3)

8:00 Local broadcast 9:00 One Life to Live 9:45 The Young and the Restless 10:30 Guests in the Living Room 11:00 I Love Lucy 11:30 Celeste 12:00 Murphy Brown 12:45 Falcon Crest 13:30 Coach 14:00 Israeli Clips 14:15 Thirty something 15:00 Topaz 15:45 Knots Landing 16:35 Neighbors 16:55 Love to Live 17:50 Israeli Clips 18:05 One Life to Live 18:50 The Young and the Restless 19:35 Local broadcast 20:00 Celeste 20:50 Falcon Crest 21:40 Cheers 22:05 Murphy Brown 22:35 The Nanny

23:00 ENG 23:50 Dear John 00:20 Cagney and Lacey 1:10 War of the Worlds

MOVIE CHANNEL (4)

10:30 Arabic film 12:05 Inn of the Sixth Happiness (1958) - drama based on the true story of an English missionary in China. Starring Ingrid Bergman. 14:45 Alice (1990) rpt 16:30 Top Secret (1988) rpt 18:00 Two Brothers Running (1980) rpt 19:25 To Heal a Nation (1988) rpt 21:05 Far North (1988) - the tough father of a Minnesotan family is almost killed when he is kicked by a horse, and his daughter comes to look after him and bridge the gap between them. Sam Shepard directs Charles Durning, Tess Harper, Patricia Arquette and Shepard's wife Jessica Lange (65 mins) 22:35 Equinox (1991) rpt 00:25 Friday the 13th Part 6 (1986) rpt 1:50 Tango (1992) rpt

CHILDREN'S CHANNEL (6)

6:30 Cartoons 9:00 Cartoons 9:35 Treasure Island 10:00 Astro Farm 10:10 He-Man 11:10 My Sister Sam 11:40 Beverly Hills 90210 12:35 A Question of Nature 13:00 Cartoons 13:35 Wild West C.O.W. 14:00 Orson and Olivia 14:35 Zazoo-U 15:05 He-Man 15:40 Family Ties 16:00 Flying Classroom 16:30 Beverly Hills 90210 17:20 Flying Classroom 17:30 Loony Toons 17:45 Hugo 18:05 Treasure Island 18:25 Astro Farm 18:55 Cartoons 19:30 Three's Company 19:55 Married with Children 20:30 Hanging with Mr. Cooper 20:45 All in the Family 21:10 All in the Family

SECOND SHOWING (6)

22:00 Posse (1975) - Kirk Douglas directs and stars in this Western about a sheriff seeking higher office who vows to catch a local bandit but the tables are turned and the sheriff becomes a hostage. (92 mins) 23:35 Intolerance (1916) - silent movie with four vignettes about the violent nature of man. Starring Lillian Gish (167 mins)

DISCOVERY CHANNEL (8)

6:00 Open University: Management and Economics 11:00 Plagued 12:00 Beyond 2000 13:00 Pacific Outdoors 13:30 New Explorer 14:00 Open University 16:00 Evening news 17:00 Discovery 2000 18:00 Open University 20:00 Equinox 21:00 Ubar 22:00 Real West 23:00 Pacific Outdoors 23:30 New Explorer 00:00 Open University

SUPER CHANNEL

7:00 Weekly Business 7:30 NBC News 8:00 ITN World News 8:15 Weekly Business 8:45 Strictly Business 9:00 ITN World News 9:15 Strictly Business 9:30 Inside Edition 10:00 Super Shop 11:00 Rolinda 12:00 Riviera Live 13:00 Today's Business 14:00 Today 18:00 The Money Wheel 18:30 FT Business Tonight 19:00 Today 20:00 ITN World News Live 20:30 Masters of Beauty 21:00 Bellamy on Top 21:30 Witness Video 22:30 The Best of the Tonight Show with Jay Leno 00:30 Real Personal 1:00 FT Business Tonight

STAR PLUS

6:00 Donahue 7:00 Video Fashion Monthly 7:30 Aerobics 8:00 Neighbors 8:30 Santa Barbara 8:30 The Bold and the Beautiful 10:00 Oprah Winfrey 11:00 Riviera 11:30 Frugal Gourmet 12:00 Aerobics 12:30 The Sullivan 13:00 Small Wonder 13:30 Robotech 14:00 Teenage Mutant Ninja 14:30 Batman 15:00 Video Fashion 15:30 Neighbors 16:00 M*A*S*H 16:30 Movie: Tabloid Crime 18:30 The Bold and the Beautiful 19:00 Santa Barbara 20:00 The Twilight Zone 20:30 M*A*S*H 21:00 Remington Steele 22:00 Video Fashion 22:30 Neighbors 23:00 Movie: Bull's Eye 1:00 Scene of the Crime

RADIO

VOICE OF MUSIC

6:06 Walking to Music 9:00 Poulenc:

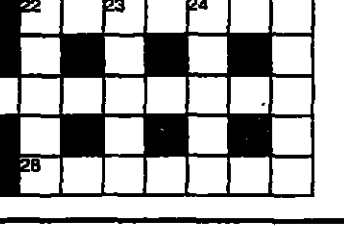
CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- In youth it can be harrowing (7)
- Painful for men—sale (7)
- Disturbed about a ball when unlimb (9)
- US serving man with a bit of garden may be taunted (5)
- Storm and split with a party (7)
- Individual after a different name for a flower (7)
- Soldiers and general coming back again (9)
- Mountains are inland, especially high ones (5)
- An aim could become a wild enthusiasm (5)
- Plant needing little water yet yielding weighty harvest (9)
- Being beastly, takes a long time coming into line (7)
- This is not so flavoursome, so lay it on thick (7)
- Returning seamen receiving cash for fish (5)
- He's making a claim as per new offer (9)
- An artist's underclothing (7)
- React to join quite unreservedly (7)

DOWN

- Heavy-duty machinery to haul up a hill (7)
- Given rotten roles—he just can't win (5)
- The main distributor of material vital to everyone (5)
- Regards European money as a bad thing (7)
- More weight to remove (7)
- The sum required for building work (9)
- Get the needle and do some decorating (9)
- Showing craft about Danes' treatment for depression (7)
- Meeting a number on the track (9)
- Vacillating, it is clear, but that's true to form (9)
- Harassing medics carrying in case (7)
- Means of transport for the person unconscious of progress (7)
- Not on strike, being eccentric (7)
- Left the light paint (7)
- Efficient, so likely to keep notes (5)
- Subject to ups and downs in the main (5)



QUICK CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- Sussex resort (5)
- Advanced (5)
- Without delay (9)
- Animal doctor (3)
- Unhindered (4)
- Save (6)
- Forty winks (3-3)
- Expensive (6)
- Terror (5)
- Responsibility (4)
- Bond (3)
- Small orange (9)
- Imprecise (5)
- Cuard (8)

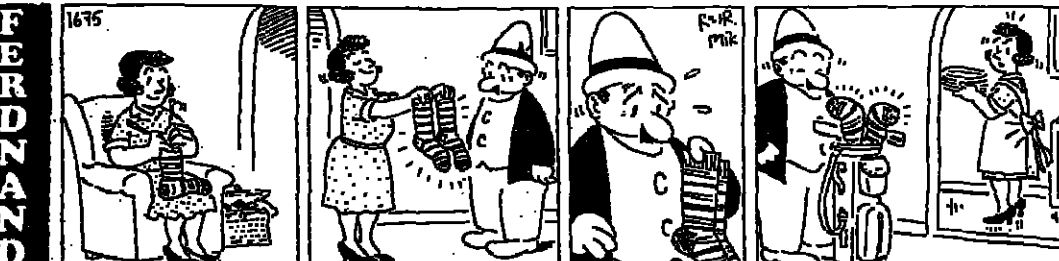
DOWN

- Short (5)
- Examine (7)
- Pile (4)
- Beginning (6)
- Courageous (5)
- Nonplus (7)
- Builder (7)
- Shine out (7)
- Prisoner (7)
- Stress (7)
- Alter (6)
- Pretend (5)
- Piler (5)
- Finest (4)

SOLUTIONS

RESTORATION. B E U N M N O B E C A N A B O U T V I A L E S L O U K E R E U I A S H O U T O F D A M E S I E P E M A T I N E A I R P O R T S O C P O A T E H O U S E W A N A N T R I A O A D H E R E N T P O N C H O R I E S U M L N S O N I C H O S P I T A L S O G A K O N O Y P A P E R W E I G H T

Quick Solution
 ACROSS: 1 Canaan, 4 Aries, 8 Tond, 9 Lacking, 10 Alumnus, 11 Edda, 12 Hew, 14 Mire, 15 Alpa, 18 Rac, 21 Cam, 23 Takings, 26 Private, 28 Viola, 27 Elect, 28 Create.
 DOWN: 1 Catnap, 2 Neptune, 3 Endanger, 4 Arch, 5 Illad, 6 Signal, 7 Clean, 13 Walkover, 18 Candola, 17 Pleas, 19 Ether, 20 Escape, 22 Rause, 24 Fact.



GTaiba clan feud a leaves one dead

RAINE MARCUS

THANKS POLICE managed to bring a temporary end to the violence between two rival clans in Taiba that erupted again yesterday - leaving 75 victims, one dead and three wounded - by Kfar Blim persuading some members of one family to leave for Umm el-Fahm.

The feud originally began in March 1993, when two members of the Abdel Kader clan and one member of the Hariri clan were shot dead, during an argument over the right-of-way on a street. Since then there have been periodic shoot-outs and other outbreaks of violence between the two families, many of whose members are known to deal in drugs and stolen property.

Those who committed the violence were sentenced to long prison terms, but the clans have continued their feud. All attempts by community leaders and police to effect a reconciliation have failed.

Yesterday's incident began when Abdel Kader's car was blocked at the exit from Tira by another vehicle, occupied by masked members of the Hariri family. Two men from the Hariri

clan allegedly shot Abdel Kader, fatally wounding him.

Around an hour later, rioting broke out in Taiba, accompanied by shooting, the hurling of stones and attempts to torch homes. Massive forces of police and Border Police, led by Sharon police chief Dep. Cmdr. Bertie Ohayon, dispersed the crowds with tear gas.

During the riots, Aisha Abdel Kader was shot and moderately wounded in the abdomen. Another woman and a youth were lightly wounded in the crossfire.

Some members of the Hariri clan left for Umm el-Fahm, but some refused.

Central District police chief Cmdr. Shlomo Aharonishky said last night that every attempt was being made to arrange a truce between the two clans.

"We have met with Israeli-Arab leaders and notables in an effort to organize a truce but there are certain conditions which must be met - according to tradition - and this is no easy business," he said.

Massive forces of police and Border Police will be deployed to maintain order at Abdel Kader's funeral this morning, he added.

"The fact that many clan members are known criminals only makes the possibility for a truce more difficult," said Aharonishky. "For our part we can be present there, to temporarily keep the peace."

Sharon and Netanyahu call a truce, insiders say

SARAH HONIG

MK Ariel Sharon, a declared candidate for the Likud leadership, has decided to cooperate with party chairman Benjamin Netanyahu, Likud sources said.

The sources said relations between the two have been improving of late and that a truce - possibly even an alliance - was sealed at a meeting they held in a Jerusalem hotel last week.

Sharon is abroad, and sources close to Netanyahu refused to confirm or deny the reports. But party sources argued that internal opposition to Netanyahu has been declining as his performance in public opinion polls improves.

During the past several months, Netanyahu has been steadily gaining when pitted in polls against Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin;

last week the polls actually showed Netanyahu beating Rabin by a 46% to 42% margin.

Though Sharon has been responding to these results with overtures to Netanyahu, no such moves have been evident from MK David Levy, who has refused to have anything to do with Netanyahu since the latter beat him in the 1993 party primary. Levy, however, has kept a lower profile and has been less acrimonious, which Likud insiders see as a possible prelude to a reconciliation.

Netanyahu is expected to issue a conciliatory message to Levy on Thursday, when the Likud central committee convenes, although Levy has steadfastly avoided all formal Likud forums since his primary defeat.

Witness in Deri trial: Nehamkin's claims incorrect

A WITNESS in the Aryeh Deri case testified yesterday that former Agriculture Minister Aryeh Nehamkin's claims regarding the representation of landowners in the Nebi Samwil case was incorrect.

Yehuda Ziv, who worked at the Israel Lands Administration, headed the public committee created to look into the Nebi Samwil land situation. He told the Jerusalem District Court that the only

case he had ever encountered where land was purchased by the government to set up a nature spot was in the case of Nebi Samwil. "The State of Israel is not rich enough" to carry out such a policy, he said.

Ziv's testimony contradicted that of Shmaryahu Cohen, former head of the Housing Ministry's Jerusalem branch, who said it was policy to buy lands to set up nature spots.

DEAR HERZLIYA RESIDENTS,

The Seventieth Anniversary of the Founding of Herzliya Opens Today, Monday, October 31, 1994

To mark the 70th anniversary of the city's founding, a special postmark has been produced by the Israel Philatelic Service. Residents interested in having envelopes stamped with this special postmark should apply to Herzliya's main post office, 12 Sokolow St., on Monday, October 31, 8:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. & 3:30 to 6:00 p.m. (Window 7)

On the same day, Herzliya's schoolchildren will visit the graves of the city's founders, honorary and distinguished citizens.

President Ezer Weizman will be the guest of Herzliya on Tuesday, November 1.

During his visit, the Interdisciplinary Center for Business, Law and Technological Studies will be inaugurated in his presence.

Also participating in the ceremony will be:

Minister of Justice David Liba'i

Minister of Housing and Construction Binyamin Ben-Eliezer

and guests from Herzliya from all walks of life.

In the name of the members of the City Council, the City Management, the 70th Anniversary Celebrations Committee and the Herzliya Municipality staff, I extend heartfelt congratulations to Herzliya residents on this festive occasion.



Herzliya - The Legendary City
1924 - 1994

Eli Landau, Mayor



John Smith, the president of General Motors (l) and Avihu Bin-Nun, chairman of the Automobile Importers Association, examine a 1950s-vintage Chevrolet at the Automobile Museum in Tefen. Smith is on his first visit to Israel. (Hanaot Grizinsky/Israel Sun)

Nimrod's to file complaint over filming of meeting

RAINE MARCUS

YA'ACOV NIMRODI and his son Ofer, the publisher of *Ma'ariv*, are expected to file a complaint with police regarding the filming of meetings between them and lawyer Moti Katz, shot secretly in Tel Aviv hotels last May. Some of the footage was shown on Channel 2 Friday night.

Ma'ariv accused Channel 2 of deliberately keeping the films "until a strategic time" determined by an interested party.

However, Channel 2 news chief Shalom Kittel denied this yesterday, saying: "All our considerations were purely journalistic, and we were not pressured by any party to screen the footage at any particular date."

On Friday night's news program, Channel 2 showed clips of the Nimrod's, together with *Ma'ariv* security officer David Ronen, meeting Katz in the Dan Panorama and Moriah hotels. Ofer Nimrod was filmed entering

a hotel room with a plastic bag, but when he left, his hands were empty.

Katz is the defense lawyer for private investigator Rafi Friedman, who, together with his partner Ya'acov Tsur, is accused of tapping phones, mobile phones and faxes of hundreds of businessmen, politicians and media executives.

Police investigations chief Cmdr. Yossi Levy said yesterday that Ya'acov Nimrod had phoned him from the economic summit in Casablanca to tell him he would file a complaint, and to demand that police investigate whether the filming and the broadcast violated any laws.

Nimrod told Levy that the meetings were arranged by phone only an hour in advance, and therefore the only way anyone could have known about them was if phones had been tapped. Levy

told him to file a formal complaint on his return.

A private investigator unconnected with the case said that "an interested party," could have hired a private detective to place the Nimrod's under 24-hour surveillance. Small hidden cameras can be planted in such objects as ashtrays in hotel corridors.

Levy said that the filming of the meetings did not come as a surprise to police, since the fact they had taken place was revealed nearly three months ago, but they had never seen the films before. The footage would not cause any dramatic turning point in the investigation, he added.

The Nimrod's, however, could have filed the complaint shortly after the meetings were revealed in the press, and a police source said he "wondered why they waited so long."

When the meetings were first reported, Katz said he had met with Nimrod and Ronen to try and persuade the former to withdraw his petition to publish a list of subjects whose phones were allegedly tapped by Friedman and Tsur. But some meetings took place before Nimrod filed the petition.

Regarding the investigation into who ordered the wide-scale wiretapping services from Friedman and Tsur, Levy said that there are no "breakthroughs," confirms what reporters and private investigators already know: that newspaper editors and publishers are suspected of commissioning the bugging. But police have no concrete proof to support their suspicions, he added.

Katz has repeatedly refused to disclose who is paying his fees, claiming that such matters are confidential. He also refused to disclose what was discussed at meetings.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Hilton building hotel at Dead Sea

The Hilton International hotel chain has signed a contract to manage a new hotel to be built on the shore of the Dead Sea. The hotel, to be called the David Dead Sea Hilton, will have 300 rooms, indoor and outdoor salt water pools, a modern spa and accommodations for businesses and conferences. The hotel, to be built by the Nahal Group, is scheduled to open in 1997.

Car thefts up 12 percent

Car thefts are up 12 percent this year over last year, with many of the stolen vehicles taken to the autonomous areas of Jericho and Gaza, police announced yesterday. About 19,000 vehicles were stolen during the first nine months of the year. However, police also announced that overall crime was down this year. Some 4.5 percent less files were opened by police through the month of September in 1994 compared to the same period last year.

The number of stolen vehicles recovered is also down by about seven percent. Some 8,000 stolen vehicles, in various conditions, were recovered by police and private agencies this year.

Train fares up

Starting tomorrow, train fares on certain lines will increase by about 6 percent. Even after the fare increase - the first since June - train travel will still be about 20 percent cheaper than travel by bus.

The fare from Tel Aviv to Rehovot will be NIS 6 (instead of NIS 5.50), Tel Aviv to Jerusalem NIS 12 (NIS 11.50), Haifa to the bay suburbs NIS 4.50 (NIS 4), and Tel Aviv to Hadera NIS 9 (NIS 8.50).

Factory worker crushed in accident

Melich Shohat, 54, of Acre was crushed to death yesterday in a work accident at the Shildkraut screen-manufacturing plant in Haifa Bay. The accident occurred as Shohat was moving huge rolls of metal wire from the factory's yard to the production line. One roll, which weighed 1.5 tons, fell from its place and crushed him to death. Police and Labor Ministry officials are investigating.

US Army Chief of Staff visiting Israel

US Army Chief of Staff Gen. Gordon Sullivan is visiting the IDF, the army confirmed yesterday.

General Sullivan yesterday met with Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Ehud Barak, and is scheduled to meet senior officers from the IDF's ground corps and visit various bases and installations in the next several days.

Winning cards

In yesterday's Mifal Hapayis daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the eight of spades, eight of hearts, ace of diamonds, and seven of clubs.

Families of Tze'elim-2 victims appeal sentence

ALON PINKAS

THE families of the five soldiers killed in the Tze'elim-2 accident appealed to the High Court of Justice over the leniency of the sentence in the trial, after the Military Judge Advocate General announced he would not appeal the sentence.

The special military court ruled in their October 17 sentencing that despite the severe charge of negligence leading to death, there is no reason to sentence the two defendants, Major K and Captain A, to prison terms.

The chief judge, Colonel Oded Mudrik, determined in his opinion that a prison term is usually the outcome of death caused by negligence, but the unique circumstances in which the accident occurred and the rarity of accidents in the *Sayeret Matkal* unit in general render a jail sentence unnecessary.

In the November 1992 accident, five soldiers were killed and injured when a missile was erroneously launched during a phase of the exercise that should not have involved live fire.

The defendants were given a three-month suspended sentence and were demoted one rank.

The families of the five soldiers previously said that despite their loss, they are interested in a serious probe of the accident, not in seeing the two officers in jail. However, it was reported yesterday that some family members appealed to the High Court of Justice, and contested both the leniency of the sentence and the fact that no senior officer involved in the planning and execution of the exercise was charged.

The families asked the High Court to strip the two defendants of their officer ranks.

Shlomi strikers block road

DAVID RUDGE

ANGRY residents of Shlomi and striking municipal workers blocked the northern road yesterday as protests continued over what they described as the government's neglect of the Western Galilee township.

Demonstrators set fire to tires and on several occasions tried to form human chains across the northern road outside the entrance to Shlomi.

"We came here in the 1950s and nothing has changed since," declared one of the protesters, Sylvia Ben Simon. "Other places like Ma'alot and Migdal Ha'emek have developed and grown while we have just regressed," she said.

Police broke up the demonstrations each time protesters tried to block the road with tires or their own bodies, but without having to resort to undue force.

Yesterday's demonstration marked the beginning of the third week of the strike that has shut down all municipal services. It also coincided with a visit by the head of the Knesset Interior Committee, Yehoshua Matza (Likud).

Matza charged that the government was more concerned with the "Casablanca festival" than with the plight of residents, and he promised to raise the problems of Shlomi in the Knesset.

A protest tent manned by municipal workers, including officials and local council head Israel Avnerat, has been pitched near the entrance to the town.

Avnerat warned they would take their tent to Jerusalem and begin a hunger strike opposite the Prime Minister's Office unless concrete measures to solve Shlomi's problems were put forward in the next few days.

Correction

Carolyn Carlson's performances with the Helsinki city Theater Dance Company

will take place on November 12 and 14 and not as published in Friday's paper.